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ULSTER AND THE BRITISH ARMY CRISIS

Sobering news came from England last week in the despatches which announced that, while Ulstermen and their supporters in England were preparing themselves for what would amount to civil war, the head of the British Army, Sir John French, Chief of the Imperial Staff, had resigned.

Although the Government, under Mr. Asquith's direction, declined to accept his resignation and asked that it be withdrawn, the very fact that it was 'proffered at such a time as this was of grave significance, and was doubly significant when considered in connection with the appearance of the name of Earl Roberts, formerly Commander-in-Chief of the army, at the head of a list of names signed to a declaration, published two weeks before, pledging the signers in certain events to resist the Government.

For an understanding of these events we commend to our readers the two articles published in this issue on the Irish Home Rule situation, one from the Conservative, the other from the Radical, point of view.

The immediate occasion of Sir John French's resignation was an order that had been issued by the Government to certain troops. Some of the commanding officers believed that the Government was about to treat Ulster as an enemy's country, and prevent by force the further military organization of the Ulstermen. Several of these officers thereupon resigned their command. Upon receiving assurance, however, that they had misunderstood this order, they withdrew their resignations. But this misunderstanding was followed by another. It had been reported that the Government had offered to these officers an opportunity of deciding whether they would serve against Ulstermen or not. In any case, the Secretary of War, Colonel Seely, did assure them that the Government had no intention of taking advantage of its right to crush disorder in order to crush political opposition to the Home Rule Bill. This at once aroused the indignation of the Radical press as an evidence of yielding to army dictation. Colonel Seely took upon himself all blame for any misapprehension, and submitted his resignation. The Premier, Mr. Asquith, refused to accept the resignation, but repudiated the alleged guarantee. In doing so he declared: "So long as we are the responsible Government of this country, whatever the consequences may be we shall not assent to the claim of any body of men in the service of the Crown to demand from the Government in advance assurances as to what they will or will not be required to do in circumstances which have not arisen." Thereupon Sir John French, the Chief of Staff, who had been one of the joint signers of the guarantee, resigned. At the same time the resignation of other officers was offered, among them the Adjutant-General, Sir John Ewart. As a consequence some critics have concluded that the army itself is in danger of disruption. It will be in less danger if the Government persuades Generals French and Ewart to withdraw their resignations: at all events, the Army Council—the two Generals being present—has unanimously determined to issue a new Army Order. It is as follows:

I. No officer or soldier shall in future be questioned by his superior officers as to what attitude he will adopt or as to his action in the event of his being required to obey orders dependent on future or hypothetical contingencies.

II. An officer or soldier is forbidden in future to ask for assurances as to orders which he may be required to fulfill.

III. It is the duty of every officer and soldier to obey all lawful commands given them through the proper channels, either for safeguarding public property or to support the civil power in the ordinary execution of its duty, or for the protection of the lives and property of the

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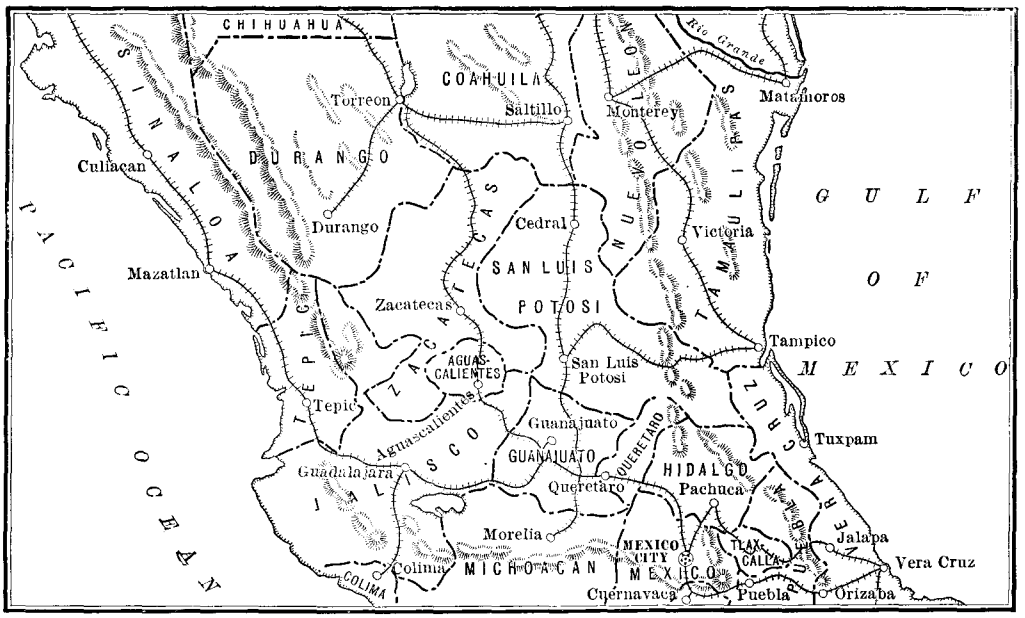

MEXICO: TORREON TO MEXICO CITY

inhabitants in case of a disturbance of the peace.

Besides the articles which appear in this issue there will be found an editorial discussion of the situation on another page.

THE SIEGE OF TORREON

It would be hard to overestimate the importance of Torreon, about which fierce battle waged last week between the attacking insurgent army of Villa and the Federal forces under General Velasco. Torreon is about one-third of the distance between Villa's base of operations at the city of Chihuahua and Mexico City. It is on the direct and central railway route running in a slightly southeasterly direction through northern Mexico from Juarez to the capital. Other railways enter Torreon from the east (furnishing a route to Saltillo and Monterey), and from Durango on the southwest. A glance at the accompanying map will show that the possession of Torreon is absolutely essential to any possibility of attack upon Mexico City from the northward. On the other hand, its loss would not necessarily put the capital in immediate danger, for the distance between the two places is between one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles. Moreover, there is more than one town on the route which has been fortified and prepared for resistance; and the farther the insurgents advance from their northern bases of supply, the harder their attack to maintain and the easier Huerta's defense.

Those who believe in Huerta's military ability have long maintained that his strategy involved "watchful waiting," the strengthening of his forces, and the ultimate striking of a crushing blow when his enemy was fully within reach. A decisive defeat of the Federals at Torreon, however, would involve a loss of prestige which would be more than likely to shake Huerta's power to its foundations.

In the number of men engaged and the losses involved the battle of Torreon is one of the most extensive civil war engagements ever fought in Mexico. Villa has, it is stated, over twelve thousand men in the campaign, and General Velasco by the reinforcements received during the fighting must have raised his total force to nearly as large a number. Anything definite as to the number of killed is impossible to obtain at this writing, but reports indicate that the losses are large, and unless the despatches are sensationally incorrect many hundreds of the defeated were slaughtered after they had ceased to resist. Both sides were well provided with artillery.

Whatever else may be said of Villa, he is a fighting man whose soldiers will follow him into battle. His initial attack on the suburbs of Torreon was evidently a dash-

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ing piece of work. He forced himself into possession of one of these suburbs, Gomez Palacio, which is only three miles from Torreon, and for a day or so it was believed that he had captured part of the city itself. Then came counter-reports that Villa had been led into a trap at Gomez Palacio, and that his repulse followed. On Friday the despatches from Mexico City were insistent that the Federals had inflicted a crushing defeat upon their enemy. The Constitutionalists, on the contrary, at that time still maintained faith in Villa's ultimate success, and Villa telegraphed under his own name, "After three days and nights of bloody fighting the enemy has been dislodged from Gomez Palacio and Lerdo."

THE JAPANESE CABINET

The Japanese Ministry has resigned. Is the defeat of the Ministry due to the naval scandal—the giving and receipt of unlawful commissions so as to influence the allotment of naval contracts? No, says the Government announcement. Yes, say all the Opposition journals. At all events, the scandal created much popular indignation.

Admiral Yamamoto, the Prime Minister, who has just resigned, is specially interesting to Americans; he is not only a high-grade man from every point of view, but he received a part of his training at Annapolis. Probably no one in the Empire felt the scandal more keenly. He could have been relied on to make a thorough investigation, and it is the irony of politics that the penalty, if such it be, should fall on his shoulders.

The official statement declared that the Cabinet resigned because the houses of Parliament had failed to agree on the financial Budget. Unless an extraordinary session of Parliament should be called, last year's Budget and estimates of expense for the various departments will remain in operation.

The significance in the fall of the Ministry lies in the fact that it clearly shows the growing influence of public opinion in Japan, especially as represented in Parliament: certainly it means that the Ministry must have the support of a majority of members.

Two men are spoken of as Admiral Yamamoto's probable successors. One of these, Marquis Saionji, has already been Premier. He was educated in France. An old-fashioned noble in his ideas of personal honor, he has a modern mind. He is the leader of the Constitutional party. Those who know him well say that he has radical ideas, but that he does not believe in the Empire's too rapid progress.

The other candidate is Baron Kato, an all-round man, recently Ambassador in London and Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is remarkably intelligent, broad-minded, well poised, and accomplished. He knows Europe and America thoroughly.

Under either Saionji or Kato the general policy of Japan would doubtless be one of retrenchment and moderation in home affairs and of conservatism in foreign affairs. The succession of either should involve no change in the attitude of Japan towards the United States or any other nation.

DUELING IN THE GERMAN ARMY

A recent despatch to the New York "Times" reports the fact that a German lieutenant has been sentenced to imprisonment and dismissal from the army for killing a comrade in a duel. The Court found that the prisoner had gravely wronged the family honor of his victim, and by his conduct had provoked the duel. That this conviction is of more than passing interest and importance may be realized when it is added that this is the severest blow yet delivered against the custom of dueling in the German army. In this instance the Court by its judgment has virtually given notice that officers who wrong the family honor of fellow-officers are not to be treated as gentlemen, and the fact that they happen to vanquish their opponents in personal combat will not rehabilitate their own honor. If the precedent established by this conviction is followed, courts of honor hereafter in similar cases will forbid a duel on the ground that the offender is not fit to meet an honorable officer on the field.

In connection with this conviction it is interesting to note the statement of the Minister of War, Lieutenant-General Erich von Falkenhayn, made on March 17. He admitted that dueling was an offense under the laws both of God and man, and was an evidence of physical rather than of moral courage. The fact that his attack on dueling attracted widespread attention supplies an adequate commentary on the conditions that called it forth.

SECRETARY LANE'S LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMME

Secretary Lane's administration of the Department of the Interior has been increas-

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ingly distinguished by his legislative programme.

The first feature of this programme was the Alaskan Railway Bill. That has now, we are glad to say, been passed by both branches of Congress.

The second feature is the Alaskan Coal Leasing Bill, which has now been reported out of the House Committee on Public Lands.

The third feature is a bill introduced into the Senate and House respectively by Mr. Myers and Mr. Ferris, the Chairmen of the Public Lands Committees in those houses.

This last bill authorizes private individuals to explore public lands owned by the United States outside of Alaska for oil, gas, coal, potash, and phosphates. Under the bill the Government may issue a permit to a private individual to explore for oil and gas over a territory not greater than 2,560 acres in extent for a period of two years. Within this period definite and effectual work must be done by the person licensed. The minimum amount of work performed is defined in the bill. If oil is discovered, the individual holding the license is granted one-fourth of the land in fee; the remainder of the tract is still to belong to the Government and to be subject to lease on a royalty basis. When coal is discovered, under this bill tracts not to exceed 2,560 acres are to be leased to the discoverer and operator. There are stringent provisions against combinations which may develop into a monopoly of coal thus discovered. For instance, no person may have an interest as a stockholder in more than one lease.

Similar provisions have been made with regard to the production of phosphates and potash. All the royalties that result from the development of these resources are to go, in the first place, into the Reclamation Fund and to be used for irrigation projects, but after being once so used and returned to the Federal treasury, half of the proceeds are to go to the treasuries of the States in whose boundaries the leased premises are located, for school and development uses.

These bills, which are framed to carry out the policy devised by Secretary Lane, are peculiarly interesting because they show in a practical way how the Government may regulate and even retain ultimate control of great natural resources, and at the same time foster legitimate private initiative and reasonable financial rewards for private skill and efficiency. In our judgment, it is along such lines that the dangers of capitalistic control on the one hand and of Government bureaucratic operation on the other are to be avoided in all American industry which involves either natural or artificial monopoly.

POLICE SYSTEM STILL ON TOP

Thanks to the Legislature of New York, inefficient, corrupt, and insubordinate police officers can continue to disregard commissioners, mayors, and public opinion.

As our readers know, Mayor Mitchel asked the New York Legislature to pass a group of bills which would give the Police Commissioner of New York real authority. This involved the taking away from policemen of the right to appeal from the decision of the Commissioner to the courts. So long as that right remains the Commissioner has no real and final authority. And no one knows that better than those police officers of high rank who have used their position and power for their own enrichment. Banded together, these men have become powerful politically, and when the issue was joined in the Legislature their influence proved to be too powerful for the representatives who stood for the public interest.

Undoubtedly there were men in the Legislature and among those who appeared at the public hearings who were honest in their fear of giving the Commissioner such power. There is, however, no reason why the police officer should have any such privilege of appeal to the courts which the soldier does not have. There is no reason why there should not be the same disciplinary authority in the police force that there is in every military body.

We should advise our readers who live in New York State to find out how their respective representatives in the Legislature voted, whether Progressives, Republicans, or Democrats, and to consider carefully whether they wish to return to the Legislature any man who either did not see the nature of the issue or, seeing, voted deliberately in the interest of dishonest, inefficient, and corrupt members of the force. We think the Progressives who voted against this group of bills were particularly culpable, since the measures were in accord with the broad principles of their party. The great majority of police officers in New York are honest

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men, we firmly believe, and they had nothing to fear and everything to gain from the Mayor's plan.

It is certain that ultimately some such plan will be enacted.

A FIFTH AVENUE PARADE

Up Fifth Avenue, first of American streets in luxury and wealth, Saturday afternoon, March 21, tramped a singing, defiant crowd of unemployed. From Madison Square, after rousing speeches by Emma Goldman, Carlo Tresca, ex-convict Alexander Berkman, and other extremist agitators, the crowd marched up the avenue, driving pedestrians from sidewalks, women from automobiles, hindering traffic. They marched without a permit, they marched with police officers accompanying them. After careful investigation we can state that they started a thousand strong; they ended with less than three hundred. The picture we print on another page confirms this statement. "They began like the Giants," said a strike leader to a representative of The Outlook; "they ended up like the Yankees. Some fell by the wayside from sheer physical weakness; some didn't." There are two sides to the life of the striker: there is his life in the street, the march and singing; and there is his life in his home, if he has a home—his life as it is.

From the beginning this year was a year of industrial stress. When the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor issued figures showing that there existed upward of three hundred and twenty-five thousand unemployed, the public took notice. From everywhere into the crowd of unemployed flocked men by the hundreds, keen for sympathy, keen for public relief. And the crowd was not without leaders. One manifestation of that fact was this sweep up Fifth Avenue. It is with this manifestation that most American citizens will take issue.

The American is liberal towards liberalism; but he ought not to be, and usually he is not, tolerant of license. The right of free speech does not mean the right to slander and libel with impunity. So the right of free assembly does not mean a right to obstruct the public highway or to create disorder. Those who, whether they are unemployed or not, suffer from social injustice, are not well served by those who counsel them to disregard public rights or to interfere with public order. Those who do this are really the worst enemies of the unemployed, for they divert public attention from a real grievance to the extraneous but still more fundamental issue of civilized order and public self-control. It is more fundamental because society cannot correct social wrongs unless it is self-controlled and efficiently self-governed.

A WOMAN FIGHTS POLITICAL BOSSES

Four weeks ago we gave some account of the activities of women in the spring municipal campaign in Chicago. These activities are not confined to mere legislation and voting at the primaries, but are being carried on in at least one exceedingly interesting personal campaign. The First Ward of Chicago is notorious as being the home of one of the most corrupt and at the same time one of the most successful political organizations in the world. This ward sends to the City Council two celebrated Aldermen, namely, "Bath-House" John Coughlin and "Hinky Dink" Kenna. The kind of partnership between vice and politics which has made Tammany a byword in New York City is highly specialized in this particular ward. Miss Marion Drake—whose portrait appears on another page—an able and active woman who has been a court reporter and is now a member of the Chicago bar, is campaigning against Alderman Coughlin and is a candidate for election in opposition to him in the City Council. She did not seek the nomination, and, indeed, at first she refused it, but finally, believing it to be her civic duty to enter the fight, she has thrown herself into it with activity and enthusiasm.

That a woman of refinement should enter into such a contest with such a political antagonist seemed to us so interesting a manifestation of the new political movement among women that we asked the special representative of The Outlook in Chicago to interview both Miss Drake and Alderman Coughlin and give us his impressions of them and their contest.

"Miss Drake," he says, "is a woman who appears to be about forty years of age. She is of medium height and has the appearance of a school-teacher. Her magnetism is evident at first sight. She is animated in her conversation and action, talking very rapidly and punctuating her sentences by quick movements of the arms. She is far from being experienced in political

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matters. She had no idea up to within the last two months that she would ever take any active part in politics, although she has been more or less prominent in civic matters in Chicago. She knows the First Ward as though she had always lived there. She is in the district day and night, and has hundreds of workers making their pleas from house to house in her behalf."

THE CONDITIONS OF THE STRUGGLE

Our correspondent adds a graphic account of the issues and character of this unusual political battle. He says :

" By far the most important factor in the election of an Alderman from this ward is what is termed ' the floating vote.' The lodging-houses are filled on registration and election days with men who are brought in from outside districts who sleep on bare floors for a sufficient length of time that they may become acquainted with the number of the house for the purpose of giving a correct address on either registration or election days. This ' floating vote ' numbers many hundreds, and it is this fraudulent vote which Miss Drake believes to be the greatest obstacle to her election. Her opponent has behind him a compact and successful political organization, while she is fighting her own battle with such individual support as she can obtain from persons, irrespective of party, who are in favor of decent government. She is not, however, discouraged by her great task, and openly says that if she loses this election she will continue to wage the battle against filth, indecency, and corruption in one of the worst wards of the world.

" Alderman John Coughlin, her opponent, is a middle-aged man of ordinary height, rather heavy set, and with very bushy white hair. For twenty-two years he has been Alderman of the First Ward, with an organization behind him which has most faithfully served him. In meeting Mr. Coughlin you get the impression that he is a kindly character. The hall in which I heard him speak was over a saloon, shabby, unkempt, and generally disordered. It was filled with men of the wage-working class, although among the one hundred and fifty men present there were at least thirty or forty women, every one of a respectable type and intensely interested apparently in the personality of the Alderman. Mr. Coughlin spoke of what he had done in his Council work of twenty-two years for the people before whom he stood, claiming to represent labor. He made his plea on the basis of personal liberty of the laboring men. His arguments were unsound, his grammar inexcusable, and his political ideas at times unintelligible, and yet it was apparent that he has the confidence and even the affection of his constituents. He talks their language, he thinks their thoughts, and so he gets their votes. I never understood why ' Bath-House ' John Coughlin could not be driven out of politics. Last night as he went among his people and talked with them on the personal, confidential basis, I understood why he went back to the Council each year."

Our correspondent in a few lines makes quite clear a factor in politics of which reformers are often too ignorant or too negligent—namely, personality. It is the personal relation between the Tammany leader and the people of his district that has made Tammany successful on the East Side of New York City. Political reforms cannot be brought about, at least in our great cities, by orations or essays of a " high-brow," theoretical cast, no matter how logical they may be. The successful political leader must get into personal touch with his constituents. Miss Drake is pursuing the right course. We hope that she will prove by the success of her campaign that the reformer can work with his heart as well as with his head, and that therefore she will be able to beat " Bath-House " John on his own grounds and with his own weapons of personal appeal and power.

THE BUFFALO CHARTER

In November, 1909, the voters of Buffalo, by nearly four to one, requested the institution of the commission form of government—that is to say, they wanted their city governed by a council combining both executive and legislative powers, instead of the present complicated system, with many officials and much division of authority and responsibility.

Three years ago a bill was introduced into the New York State Legislature providing for the submission of a commission charter to the voters of Buffalo. The bill passed in the Senate, but failed in the Assembly. So did similar bills in the two following years. Meanwhile the commission charter had received increasing attention in Buffalo. It

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was indorsed by a vote of ten to one in the largest meeting ever held by the Chamber of Commerce. In addition, nearly every civic and commercial organization in Buffalo indorsed the charter. When the bill was introduced in the New York State Senate this year, it passed unanimously, and in the Assembly only three adverse votes were cast against it.

Now, the Constitution of New York State provides that a local bill shall be submitted to the Mayor to ascertain whether the city has or has not accepted the same.

Mayor Fuhrmann vetoed the bill. He did this on two grounds. First, he thought it undesirable to submit such a measure to vote at a regular election next autumn at which other matters were to be voted on. To this it may be answered that not even the necessity of voting for a Governor and a United States Senator would keep the people of Buffalo, who had so long and so thoroughly discussed the question, from giving careful attention to this particular measure. The Mayor's second objection was that he had discovered certain petty flaws in the phrasing of the bill. Suppose he had. No long measure is free from them, and, as another session of the Legislature must occur before the charter can go into effect, it would be easy to correct any obvious mistakes.

The main feature of the situation, however, was that, as the New York State Constitution did not ask whether the Mayor approved the charter, there was no reason for him to veto a bill asked for by the city, and one that gives the city the right to accept or reject the charter at an election. In any event, the charter cannot become law until the people vote that it shall be law. Hence what the Mayor vetoed was not the charter itself but the right of the people to pass upon the charter.

It gives us pleasure to record the fact that, last week, the Senate repassed the bill over the veto by a vote of 37 to 9, and that the Assembly repassed it by a vote of 130 to 11.

Thus the principle that the people are entitled to a vote on the charter question has been recognized, not only by publicists, but by politicians!

A MUSICAL INTERPRETER

Music differs from most other arts in virtually requiring an interpreter. One may look at a picture alone, but one can hear a piece of music only as it passes through the mind of some one who performs it. It is not an exaggeration to say that every work of musical art is in a sense re-created at each performance. Every composer is thus at the mercy of his interpreters. How Bach, for example, has suffered because performers of his great works have often seemed to think that reverence for his profound mastery of all the intricacies of counterpoint required them to treat his works as the products of an academic dry-as-dust!

This partly explains the growth of a common tradition about Brahms. The legend runs that he is academic and dull and unmelodic, simply because he was a master of his medium and never allowed his emotions to overmaster his sense of artistic worth or impair the sound structure of his composition. The fact is that those emotions which cannot be expressed with restraint and coherence are not worth expressing artistically at all: indeed, it is only by the greatest masters of structure and technique that the profoundest emotions can be expressed. This truth the work of Brahms pre-eminently demonstrates; but only when interpreted by one who understands that truth.

This was illustrated capitally in a recital last week in New York, given by Mr. Arthur Whiting and the University Quartette. With Mr. Whiting at the piano the Quartette sang Brahms's Gypsy Songs (*Zigeunerlieder*, Opus 103), and four other concerted songs by Brahms. No one who heard that concert, especially the two Gypsy Songs, "Kommt Dir manchmal in den Sinn" and "Mond verhullt sein Angesicht," and the quartette "Der Abend," could have any doubt that there was in Brahms a fund of romance and sentiment.

Then, as if to shatter the myth that represents Brahms as a man of frigid austerity, Mr. Whiting played the Pianoforte Waltzes of Brahms (Opus 39). When they were finished, the whole audience felt friendly, as if they were a company of people who had met at the house of a neighbor.

The concert concluded with the singing of eleven Scottish melodies arranged by Mr. Whiting. They ranged from the wistful "O Send Lewie Gordon Hame" to the uproarious "Tullochgorum." Such a concert as that it is hard to imagine any audience not responding to. Like every sound musician, Mr. Whiting is a teacher and guide. He has rendered great service to music in America by his series of recitals at various colleges.

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We wish such musicianship as his could be multiplied many fold.

THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM

A picture on another page shows the walls of Jerusalem which may be soon demolished. Their situation is striking, for deep ravines surround the city on three sides.

These are not the walls of that Egyptian time when we first hear about Jerusalem. Nor are they the walls of the Hebrew time—of David and Solomon and later of Hezekiah, walls which saved the city from the siege of Sennacherib, the Assyrian general, but which fell before the attacks of the Babylonians.

In 445 B.C. Nehemiah—a good example of "scientific efficiency"—rebuilt the walls in an incredibly short time. But Jerusalem was still to be often captured. When, for instance, Alexander the Great came, the gates were opened to him, but he left the Jews in peaceful occupation. When Ptolemy came, he partly demolished the walls. They were further destroyed by the Græco-Syrian conqueror Antiochus Epiphanes. The latter's oppression led to a Jewish revolt under the leadership of the Maccabees. Herod the Great restored the walls; Titus demolished them; Hadrian rebuilt them; the Empress Eudoxia strengthened them; so did the Mohammedans from 637 A.D. to 1099, when Godfrey de Bouillon captured Jerusalem. Then nearly a century later came the wall-building by the Mohammedan conqueror Saladin, completed early in the sixteenth century by Solyman the Magnificent. The result is the walls as we know them.

They are pierced by eight or ten gates and surmounted by many towers, of which perhaps the best known is the so-called Tower of David.

The most important gates are the Jaffa and Damascus Gates. Then there is the old Valley Gate, the remains of which were discovered some years ago by Mr. F. J. Bliss; and the Fountain Gate, not far from the pool of Siloam, near which excavations have laid bare Hezekiah's underground water-supply system.

The present Jerusalem covers a larger area without the walls than does the city within the walls. The sanitary condition of both sections is deplorable. The necessities of a new water system and of trolley lines and electric lighting call, it is claimed, for the demolition of parts of the walls—indeed, that portion adjoining the Jaffa Gate was some years ago thrown down, a new gate was opened, and the old Herod's Gate reopened.

But why destroy all? The walls are picturesque; they contain memorials of earlier times; they offer opportunity for further discoveries. Hence it is not surprising that the rumor of an offer by the authorities to sell the walls for building material should have called forth much adverse comment. This is specially noted in Jerusalem itself, where, so we are informed, a number of the foreign consuls have united in protest.

THE NEW COUNSELOR OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Last week two important vacancies in the Department of State were filled—provided the Senate approves—by the appointment of Robert Lansing, of New York, to be Counselor, and of Cone Johnson, of Texas, to be Solicitor.

The first appointment is surprisingly good. It will help much to fill the gap left by the resignation of John Bassett Moore. Mr. Lansing, whose portrait appears elsewhere in this number, has had a very considerable training for his present post, and possesses the quality of mind necessary for the performance of its functions, in so far as his services are to be confined to the exposition of the legal aspects of the various problems that arise.

Mr. Lansing, a son-in-law of General John W. Foster, Secretary of State under President Harrison, made his first entrance into public affairs in 1892 by becoming Associate Counsel for our Government in the Bering Sea Fur Seal Arbitration. Some years later he became counsel for the United States Bering Sea Claims Commission. Later still he was Solicitor for the United States Alaskan Boundary Tribunal, and still later was Counsel for the North Atlantic Coast Fisheries in the arbitration at The Hague. Mr. Lansing has latterly been in Washington, appearing before the American-British Claims Arbitration Tribunal as Agent and Counsel for the American Government—a post to which he was appointed by Mr. Knox, Secretary of State during the Taft Administration. Mr. Lansing is an associate editor of the "American Journal of International Law," and is well known as an international lawyer of ripe experience and judgment. His ap-

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pointment is distinctly non-political and for merit only.

Not so Mr. Johnson's. He is a political friend of Mr. Bryan, and was one of the Texas delegates-at-large at the Democratic National Convention of 1912. He has been identified with the Prohibition element in the Texas Democracy. It is not known what further qualification he has for the position of Solicitor in the Department of State.

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF JOHNS HOPKINS

Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, until recently Professor of Administrative Law in Columbia University, New York City, and at present Constitutional Adviser of the Chinese Republic, has been elected President of Johns Hopkins University, has accepted the election, and will assume his duties on the first of October next. This brief statement includes within itself some elements of special and peculiar interest to those interested in American education.

In the first place, it is indicative of the growing importance which is attached to the work of applied research rather than of mere academic scholarship in American universities. Johns Hopkins is at the same time one of the youngest and one of the most influential of American universities. It was incorporated in 1867, but organized in 1874, so that it has had, measured by the lapse of time, the career of a mere infant when compared with the great universities of Italy, France, and England. It has had only two presidents—Dr. Daniel Coit Gilman, a geographer, and Dr. Ira Remsen, a chemist; and these two are now succeeded by Dr. Goodnow, a jurist and publicist. Although Johns Hopkins is only forty years old, in influence, capacity, and weight of authority it commands the respect of and is regarded as an equal by European universities ten times its age.

In the second place, Dr. Goodnow, like the University of which he has become the head, is comparatively young, having been born in 1859, and, while he is a distinguished scholar, is a man of affairs rather than a mere academician. That he is such in appearance as well as in fact is indicated by his portrait on another page. He was graduated from Amherst in 1879 and from the Columbia Law School in 1882. He pursued his studies in jurisprudence and social economy in the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques and the University of Berlin, and has been an instructor or professor in Columbia University since 1883. If he has a specialty, it may be said to be municipal government, a field of American life which furnishes the greatest single problem of political administration with which we have to deal. He co-operated with James Bryce in the preparation of his monumental work, "The American Commonwealth." That Dr. Goodnow is a man of practical affairs as well as a scholar is shown by the fact that he was chosen by China to be her constitutional adviser, a position which involves not only a thorough knowledge of national and international law, but executive ability of a first-rate order. He is a man of modest personality, rugged physique, and with a great capacity for work. Those who remember his appearance on the football gridiron in his undergraduate days at Amherst are not surprised that his persistence and strength have brought him far.

The greatest difficulty that the modern American college president has to deal with is the financial one. Johns Hopkins is just entering upon a third and new epoch, and we hope its friends will see that Dr. Goodnow is relieved of the necessity of raising money to carry on the splendid work which the University has already proved itself capable of performing.

JONATHAN BRIERLEY

The death of Jonathan Brierley has bereaved the world of one of its most widely influential religious teachers.

During the last twenty years a dozen volumes of "J. B.'s" almost weekly essays in the (London) "Christian World" have been taken up by thousands of readers in this country and other thousands in all parts of the English-speaking world. Translations have given them a wider range. These essays, averaging but eight or nine pages, are assembled under such titles as "Studies of the Soul," "Ourselves and the Universe," "The Eternal Religion," "Problems of Living," "Our City of God," "Religion and To-Day." In such short studies of great themes Mr. Brierley fulfilled his special mission as a pilot to minds in fog of doubt. His method was that of the sea captain who furnishes a vessel that has lost its reckoning with the longitude and latitude from which to make for port.

Men in many churches and outside of churches, clergymen and laymen, recognized

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his intentness on reality and his catholic spirit, and sought him as their guide and counselor.

THE SALISBURY CLEAN-UP

During the last year there has been widespread activity among the towns of the South in the direction of civic cleanliness. A State movement throughout Texas was closely followed by a similar awakening in Georgia and Alabama. But of all the cities that have grappled with the bugaboo of municipal filthiness there was none that attempted and carried through to success a more difficult problem than did Salisbury, North Carolina.

More than once Salisbury initiated a clean-up campaign and pushed the work onward with the enthusiastic co-operation of the white people of the town; but the most vigorous urging failed to stir the Negroes to action. They were not at all interested in the project. Newspaper publicity, personal appeals, municipal ultimatums, the exhortations of the local civic club, had absolutely no effect. The colored brother continued peacefully upon his own way, and his quarters remained an eyesore and a pestilence.

Finally, at one of the civic club meetings, it was suggested that an appeal should be made to the authorities of the colored college that is located upon the outskirts of the city. This was the entering wedge; and the Negroes, once properly approached, acted promptly. Two of the leading colored women of the city conferred with Mr. Warburton, secretary of the local Industrial Club, and a plan of action was outlined. The colored ministers were brought into the movement and indorsed it from their pulpits in the churches. Each ward was given special attention, and each block, even, had its superintendent.

The city was asked to help the work, and responded generously with a contribution of several hundred gallons of lime. By this time the movement was so well launched that little white supervision was necessary. One gallon of lime was placed with each house, and, when it was received, the woman of the house signed a membership card, which called for no dues. This card was returned to the president of the Colored Civic Club, and was used in making up a list of the members of the new organization. With a very few exceptions every Negro household in the city received a gallon of lime and signed the card.

A magic lantern was secured, and the city was successful in obtaining a specialist on the hookworm to put on illustrated lectures on the dread disease and on the necessity of cleanliness of body and home. The majority of the Negroes of the town attended the lectures and evidently appreciated them.

A month after the inception of the idea an inspection committee, including the Mayor of the city, the president of the Industrial Club, and the editor of the leading local newspaper, made the rounds of the Negro district.

To their gratified surprise, the section of Salisbury that had but a month before been a breeding-place of filth and disease was completely transformed. The yards had been cleaned; the outhouses and fences whitewashed; the pillars under the houses whitewashed; the trees in front of the houses were whitewashed; the whole place was spick and span under its coat of lime.

The success of the movement, after once it had been started, was justly attributed to Mrs. W. F. Kelsey, President of the Colored Civic Club, who inspired her people to intelligent effort. Without a Negro leader it is probable that the movement would have been a flat failure; but with the feeling that the work was to be done by them as well as for them the race pride of the Negro was aroused and the desired result attained.

Since the success of the Salisbury plan many of the Southern towns have profited by the idea and have adopted the same general method of purging their cities of uncleanness.

CONSTANTINOPLE COLLEGE

Conditions in the Near East call special attention to Constantinople College, better known under its corporate name of the American College for Girls at Constantinople. The students of this institution come from all parts of the Balkan Peninsula. They are Bulgarians, Rumanians, Servians, Albanians, and Greeks. They also come from the Turkish Empire, from southern Russia, from Persia, and from the Mediterranean islands. The influence of the College is consequently spread throughout the southeast of Europe and the Near East of Asia.

During the Balkan War girls whose fathers and brothers were serving in the respective armies of the conflicting nations sat side by side in the class-room, progressing steadily with the training that would fit them to take up the work of reconstruction which is now following the war. Despite that war, the student enrollment this year is larger than

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ever before. One reason is that there has been a substantial contribution to the Students' Aid Fund, for which an appeal was made in The Outlook last September. Hence some of the girls whose families have been impoverished by the war have been enabled to return to the College.

Since the granting of the Turkish Constitution in 1909 the College has numbered among its students a large percentage of Mohammedan Turks; out of a total registration of 280, the College has 60 Mohammedan and 17 Hebrew students. This gives to its work a peculiar significance. Religiously, the aim of the College is to give to the students an understanding of the individual character of religious life and the responsibility of each student to seek and to find a personal relation to God. Emphasis is laid upon character as the foundation of all growth. The relation of the Mohammedan and Hebrew students to the College is that which would exist in a like institution in this country, where, while all would attend the religious exercises of the College, the principles and experience of each would be respected.

We note that the College is soon to open five large new buildings at Arnaoutkeuy, about six miles above the Golden Horn, on the banks of which Constantinople is situated. The dedication of these buildings will appropriately crown the work of Mary Mills Patrick, who has given many years of devoted service to the education of young women in the Near East.

AN ANCHORAGE WHERE THE SEVEN SEAS MEET

A "grogshop" is a poor anchorage, but it has long been the usual place for sea captains ashore to moor alongside of others of their ilk and trade tales of strange events and experiences on the deep, during the breathing-spaces between voyages, while their ships are being emptied and refilled.

Now, however, master mariners may swap yarns over their cigars in as exclusive an environment as any wealthy clubman enjoys. At least when in the port of New York they can, for the Shipmasters' Club has just been formed, and in its quarters in the Maritime Building, near the water-front of lower Manhattan, the skippers of the world are welcome. Here of an afternoon one finds bronzed men from every port of the Seven Seas—tramp steamer captains from Rio, Marseilles, and Amsterdam, masters of trading lumber schooners from "Down East," and the men who drive the huge liners of the transatlantic fleet. Here also are graybeards who listen to the conversation through the tobacco haze with slight interest till some one mentions "windjammers," when they gain new life and push into the knot of gossipers with stories of the days when American clippers carried the commerce of the world.

The Shipmasters' Club exists primarily for social purposes, but it has other functions more useful to the public. It will serve as a clearing-house for nautical information, including much of interest not in the bare reports of obstacles to navigation that skippers submit to the Revenue Cutter Service. It will take an active stand for and against proposed legislation in regard to the country's merchant marine; and, last but not least, the Club will strive ever to lift the *morale* of the men who manage ships, in pursuance of its motto: "Responsibility—Courage—Judgment—Honor."

IN A NUTSHELL

You do not believe in repealing the law which exempts coastwise vessels from payment of tolls in passing through the Panama Canal. We do believe in its repeal. Let us see how far we agree. Then we shall understand why we differ. And perhaps in consequence we may not differ at all.

You believe that under the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty America has a right to exempt our coastwise vessels from the payment of Canal tolls.

So do we.

You resent the charge that those who believe in such exemption are willing to sacrifice National honor for a commercial advantage.

So do we.

You think it would be cowardice for America to yield her rights because of foreign threats, express or implied.

So do we.

And yet we believe in repealing the exemption. Why?

We believe America has a right to exempt coastwise vessels. But the right is debatable. And it is hotly debated. It is reported that some Englishmen think we have the right. It is certain that some American lawyers think we have not the right. How far an individual will go in insisting on a doubtful

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right is always a question of expediency. It is equally a question of expediency for a Nation.

There is no doubt that under our general arbitration treaty with Great Britain any question concerning the true interpretation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty should be referred to The Hague. America has explicitly promised to refer all such questions to The Hague if Great Britain requests us to do so. She has made that request. If any doubt could arise as to whether the toll exemption should be so referred, the doubt is settled for Americans by the fact that the members of the Roosevelt Administration by which the general arbitration treaty was negotiated are of one mind on the subject. Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, and Mr. Root agree in the interpretation of the arbitration treaty; they agree in saying that it was intended to cover just such cases as this. They who negotiated the treaty ought to know what it means.

The right is certainly not one to be maintained by a refusal to arbitrate when our own agents declare that it is one which we have agreed to arbitrate.

Is it worth an international lawsuit? We think not. It is a right of very doubtful advantage to the country. Professor Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania, the ablest expert in the country on the cost of operating the Canal and the probable income from it, estimates that we shall need the coastwise tolls for ten years to come in order to make the Canal pay its expenses. If we do not collect tolls from coastwise vessels, the taxpayers will pay them.

We do not think it worth while to pay a million and a half dollars a year and incur the work and worry and expense of a very doubtful lawsuit in order to maintain a right which our neighbors deny we possess and which some of our own best lawyers regard as at least very doubtful.

We think that there is a better way to maintain the American control of the Canal and to promote both the welfare and the honor of the American people than by an international lawsuit. It is by saying to Great Britain courteously but explicitly: We affirm our right to exempt coastwise vessels from Canal tolls, but we do not think the right of sufficient importance to us to justify an international lawsuit, and for international friendship's sake we waive that right and repeal the exemption.

WILL THERE BE CIVIL WAR IN ENGLAND?

If in 1860 the North had accepted Mr. Greeley's advice and allowed the erring sisters to depart in peace, and the treaty between the North and South had fixed Mason and Dixon's line as the line of separation, and the border States—Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri—had armed themselves to fight for the right to remain in the Union, it would have been difficult to send a Northern army into their borders to compel them to secede. There is no accurate parallel between this imagined state of facts and the facts which actually exist to-day in Ireland; but there is enough likeness to enable the American to understand why the English army revolts at the idea of being used to compel the submission of Ulster to the Home Rule Bill, for the Home Rule Bill means for the Scotch-Irish Protestants of the north of Ireland the transference of their allegiance in local matters to an Irish Parliament, which would certainly be dominated by the Roman Catholic population in the south of Ireland. The article on "The Crisis in England" which we publish on another page, by the very warmth of its feeling, interprets the heat with which any such transference is resisted, not only in the north of Ireland, but by a large section of the population of England. In this feeling patriotism and partisanship are intermixed, in what proportions no one can tell. Probably those who feel the passion would be the least competent to analyze it. Certainly the document which our correspondent includes in her article cannot be disregarded by either the British Government or the historian of British affairs.

Out of the present entanglement there are three possible doors of exit.

The Government may go on and enact the Home Rule Bill and, if any resistance is offered by the inhabitants of Ulster, may undertake to enforce the provisions of that bill despite such resistance. This means civil war. Even if it were true that six months ago the threat of resistance was a bluff devised for political purposes, a bluff long persisted in by a community becomes a resolve; and that now the inhabitants of the north of Ireland are resolved to fight to prevent themselves from being brought under the political control of the south of Ireland cannot be doubted by any dispassionate observer of

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current events. War is never to be entered upon lightly—least of all, civil war. The proportions and the result of the conflict which would be aroused by armed resistance in Ulster to Irish rule no one can foresee. He who recalls the horrible tragedies of the conflicts in times past between the north and south of Ireland, conflicts partly racial and partly religious, cannot look on the prospect of a revival of such conflicts without unspeakable dread. If Mr. Asquith has supposed that the threats of civil war were uttered only for political effect, and that no attempt would be made to carry them out, he must by this time be undeceived. Whether, with almost a mutiny in the English army and an undisguised support of that mutiny among prominent English public men, he could successfully quell resistance by the north of Ireland to his Home Rule measure, he must by this time seriously doubt.

The second way out is to accept the challenge of the Unionist party and appeal to the country for its support of his policy. He has the pledge of the Ulster leaders that Ulster will accept Home Rule in its entirety if the policy of Home Rule is approved by the country in a popular election; but there is very good reason why Mr. Asquith should object to this way out, even if he is sure that the country would support him in such an election.

In a general way the spirit of the Radical party in England may be compared to the spirit of the Progressive party in this country. Their programmes are quite different, but both of them are expressions of a great democratic movement. The ultimate effect, if not the conscious and deliberate purpose, of the Radical party in England is to destroy the last remnants of feudalism and establish on its ruins a true democracy. The Home Rule Bill is only a part of this Radical problem. Ultimately its triumph would mean increased local self-government for all parts of the Empire; more democratic methods of representation; a system of taxation which would equalize wealth; a land tax which would eventually compel the great landowners to give up their great landed estates and would convert the beautiful but idle parks into useful and productive farms; the abolition of an Established Church, and the complete separation of Church and State; and a public school system wholly free from ecclesiastical control. Some of the measures looking in this direction have already been enacted by two successive sessions of the House of Commons; if passed by one other session, they become law without the approval of the House of Lords. If a general election takes place, whatever the result of the election, the progress which the Radicals have made toward Radicalism will be thrown away. New bills must be introduced and must be passed by three sessions of the House of Commons in order to become law despite the certain opposition of the House of Lords. It is not strange that the Radical Ministry objects to any such postponement of legislation which it regards as essential to the welfare of the common people.

The third way out seems to the American the natural way. It is for the Government to grant by the same measure Home Rule to the south of Ireland and Home Rule to the north of Ireland; to give to each section its local Parliament; and to do this as part of a plan which eventually will give similar Home Rule to Scotland, Wales, and England; in a word, to adopt a modified form of the Federal system.

Even if this involved a delay of the Home Rule Bill for re-enactment by another session of Parliament, that would be better than either a civil war or an adjournment of the entire Liberal programme until after another election.

If six months ago Mr. Asquith had proposed this way out, probably both the Irish leaders and the Unionist leaders would have opposed it. But the Unionist leaders could hardly have instigated the people of Ulster to arm themselves for military resistance to a law which proposed to confer upon them the right of self-government. It is doubtful whether the Irish leaders in Parliament would have resisted such a measure of Home Rule so far as to defeat the Liberal party in Parliament and compel a new election, which would certainly postpone for some years, and might even ultimately defeat, their Home Rule ambitions. At all events, Mr. Asquith would have proposed a principle upon which he could have gone to the country much more safely than he can go to the country upon a proposal to involve it in civil war. If his plan for federation had been defeated, he would have suffered an honorable defeat. Whether it is too late to propose and carry out to its consummation this principle, we are not prepared to say. It is easier to prevent a fire of passion from being kindled than it is to extinguish it after it has grown into a great flame.

We hesitate to attempt any forecast of the

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future. What men will do when they are guided by reason can be foretold; but it is impossible to foretell what they will do when they are ruled by their passions. We are, however, inclined to believe that even now, if Mr. Asquith would definitely provide in his Home Rule Bill that the north of Ireland should not come under its provisions, except by its own consent, upon a referendum six years from now, he would put an end to the peril of civil war, and he would secure, if not the consent, at least the acquiescence of the men of Ulster to the Home Rule Bill so modified.

We cannot believe that there will be civil war; we anticipate that it will be avoided, either by an appeal to the country or by such a modification of the Home Rule Bill as will exclude Ulster from its operations except on the condition of Ulster's consent.

FACT, FICTION, AND THE TRUTH

We have a little daughter six years old and a son some years younger. One of the greatest problems of our lives is to know what religious instructions to begin to give these children. The girl is beginning to think about Christmas and Santa Claus and may soon be writing a letter to the mythical saint asking for a new doll. She also has started to Sunday-school and is beginning to form conceptions of God. Possibly she will be praying to him in another month for a doll for Christmas. She will get her doll with or without her appeals to these two strange invisible beings, who in her childish mind fill almost the same functions—those of administering good things to little children.

In another year or two she will learn that Santa is a myth and will cease to appeal to him for Christmas toys. If her experience follows that of her parents and thousands of others, she may be twenty or twenty-five years old before she begins to wonder if her other idol is also a myth. At any rate, it is pretty nearly certain that she will have to modify greatly her Sunday-school conception of God and prayer when she gets to the age where she can think for herself, and it is doubtful whether the story will appeal to her at all after it has gone through the reconstruction period.

What, then, are we to do? Are we to fool her for twenty years with the mental stimulus obtained from prayer, or are we to allow her to work out her own salvation at a more mature age? The question, I am sure, is one that other parents all over the land are struggling with, and they, with us, will be only too thankful for advice. E. R. S.

This letter presents a problem which perplexes many parents who are eager to give their children the best preparation for life—which means not only honorable and efficient ways of dealing with practical affairs, but the attitude of mind, the convictions, and the faith which will enable the child to live in and through all his faculties of body, mind, and soul. Putting aside for the moment the interpretation of life which Christ gave in word and deed, there are certain facts which are not understood or are blurred in the minds of many people, but which are fundamental in all wise methods of education.

First, we are not living in a stationary world, either physical, intellectual, or spiritual; the foundations on which we build securely are not material things, but immaterial forces and laws; that which is permanent and enduring is a Power or Person behind the whole order of things, of whose will or purpose that order is the expression. For many generations children were taught the Ptolemaic system of the universe, which held that the sun revolved around the earth; now they are taught that the earth moves around the sun. The Ptolemaic system was not in accordance with fact, but it was not a lie; it rested on the knowledge of the day. It was evoked by a desire for knowledge which was imperative and could not be evaded; it met a normal demand of the human mind; it taught that there was movement in the universe; it was a half-truth, but it was a step on the road to truth. With all its limitations, it was neither a falsehood nor a superstition; it was science in an early stage; those who accepted it were on the way to truth; those who denied the presence of order and movement in the universe were going away from the truth.

That is all that can be definitely said of most of the sciences to-day; they are not the truth, but they are on the way to the truth. As eager and devoted scientists study the great order of things they correct mistakes of fact and bring to light new facts which compel modifications of accepted explanations and make new explanations inevitable; what is significant and noble in their work is not that they have found all the truth, but that they are on the way to it and always approaching it. The inspiration of their work lies in the fact that they are not discovering and cataloguing the contents of

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a stationary universe, but uncovering the wonderful processes of a living and growing universe, led on by facts to that which is infinitely greater than facts—truth. To refuse to teach science because some of its facts are misleading would be as irrational as to refuse to use a road because it is not yet completed to the very end.

There is a widespread confusion which makes an antithesis between truth and fiction; there is an antithesis between fact and fiction, but none between truth and fiction. Fiction is often the medium for conveying the highest truth; it often drains a thousand facts of their meaning. The parables of the New Testament convey deeper and more important truths about life than libraries of records of facts. Most of the facts we use in daily life are convenient and useful; they have nothing to do with our principles, our affections, our convictions; they relate largely to the body; they do not touch the soul. They may be of value chiefly to us; truth has value for everybody.

Not only is much of the highest and most fundamental truth in the world in the form of fiction, but fiction is the only form big enough to hold and convey it. There is truth of far more universal value in the Psalms of David than in the Book of Judges; the important truth which the first chapter of Genesis reveals is not how the world was made, but who created it, and that it was created and did not accidentally occur. Whether the details of the story are facts or not is of no importance; the truth of the story is the foundation on which rest the greatest hopes of the race. If one wants to get at the very spirit of the mediæval age, he will find it in a poem rather than in any history; and there are plays of Shakespeare which, so far as the meaning of facts is concerned, present the substance of many histories.

The childhood of the race was bathed, so to speak, in poetry, and, while it was ignorant of many facts, a world of truth opened to it in myth and fairy tale. To the literal-minded the myth is a more or less elaborate falsehood; but the men and women who fashioned it made it the poetic setting of some great truth about nature. It was their explanation of the universe, and science has made few discoveries of fundamental truth which were not foreshadowed or predicted in the myths. As the myths are poetic explanations of nature, the fairy tales are explanations of human experience. Giants, genii, witches, fairies, trolls, are not meaningless inventions; they are unsophisticated and often very beautiful endeavors to tell the truth about human life in the form of fiction.

They are the natural food which children crave at certain stages, and they help supply the prime element which is largely left out of formal education, the training of the imagination—the creative faculty in man. One of the most successful builders of great business in this country said the other day that the one quality possessed by all men of business genius is imagination in some form. The history of the last ten years in this country would have been very different if some heads of railways and of great organizations had not been so deficient in imagination that they had no understanding of the people about them and acted as if they were conducting business in Russia instead of in an alert and all-powerful democracy. Mr. Gradgrind had no opinion of the imagination; he respected facts only. In Coketown there were no myths or fairy tales, and there was therefore no childhood; there was only shriveled old age. To see only facts is never to see truth; and to shut children out of the world of the imagination, if it were possible, would be to send them into life blindfolded.

In an unfolding world in which the facts held by one generation are supplanted by the facts discovered by the next generation, in which the chief value of facts is to reveal truth, in which truth is conveyed largely by symbols and the imaginary creations of art, and gains new and greater meaning from year to year, how are children to be prepared to live? Surely not by shutting books of science to them because what science says to-day she will modify to-morrow; nor by keeping out of their hands books on the political and social order because both are changing with almost revolutionary rapidity; nor by barring them out of the libraries because we know only in part and the system that was of vital interest yesterday has only historic interest to-day.

Is the child to be kept from the knowledge of God because we know him only in part? Then, and for the same reason, the child should be kept from knowledge of its father and mother, whom it can know only in part; who, in this stage of life, know themselves only in part. Religion, like science, is an unfolding knowledge, an increasing wisdom; the child cannot escape it any more than he

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can escape himself. In China Confucianism has recently been made the religion of the state because thoughtful men in that country feel that society cannot be kept from anarchy without religion. It is impossible to keep children neutral in their attitude toward religion until they are of "mature age;" if parents keep their hands off, the world lays its hands on, and the soil, when it is most receptive, is sown with noxious seed by careless or wanton hands. It would be a crime against a child to bring it up in dense ignorance because it may learn some things which later it must unlearn. To keep the knowledge of God from it because that knowledge is an increasing knowledge would be to rob the child of the truth which is absolutely vital.

Science has made atheism impossible; all men are practically agreed that there is a God. Religion is not theology; it is neither the Westminster Confession nor the Thirty-nine Articles; to teach it is not to teach a system of doctrines or a group of definitions.

If we cannot be sure that our knowledge of God is adequate and will not be revised, what shall we do? Well, the Bible is a long revision of the knowledge of God, an ascending path toward him. That path leads to the supremely beautiful Person whose story, told in the New Testament, is the divinest portrait of God upon which men have ever looked. Putting aside all questions about the personality of Christ, he has given us the most glorious vision of God which has dawned on the world. If he is not divine in the sense in which hosts of his followers have believed in every age, he is the purest soul, and therefore the greatest expert in spiritual truth, who has appeared on the earth. He has gone farther on the path toward God; when fuller truth comes, it must fill out in larger proportions the truth he taught. Why not gather children about him and let them hear, not what others have said about him, but what he said himself? We take our children to the greatest teachers of science, of art, of economics, within our reach; why not take them to the Teacher who not only spoke as man never spoke before, but lived as man never lived before?

Seven years ago there appeared on the editorial pages of the New York "Sun" a correspondence which The Outlook gladly reprints in part:

Dear Editor: I am eight years old. Some of my little friends say there is no Santa Claus. Papa says, "If you see it in the 'Sun,' it's so." Please tell me the truth; is there a Santa Claus? VIRGINIA O'HANLON.
115 West Ninety-fifth Street."

Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus. He exists as certainly as love and generosity and devotion exist, and you know that they abound and give to our life its highest beauty and joy. Alas! how dreary would be the world if there were no Santa Claus! It would be as dreary as if there were no Virginias. There would be no childlike faith then, no poetry, no romance, to make tolerable this existence. We should have no enjoyment except in sense and sight. The eternal light with which childhood fills the world would be extinguished.

You may tear apart the baby's rattle and see what makes the noise inside, but there is a veil covering the unseen world which not the strongest man, nor even the united strength of all the strongest men that ever lived, could tear apart. Only faith, poetry, love, romance, can push aside that curtain and view and picture the supernal beauty and glory beyond. Is it all real? Ah, Virginia, in all this world there is nothing else real and abiding.

No Santa Claus! Thank God! he lives, and he lives forever. A thousand years from now, Virginia, nay, ten times ten thousand years from now, he will continue to make glad the heart of childhood.

In dealing with children there ought always to be perfect truthfulness; a lie to a child is not only wrong in itself but may be destructive of that faith on which the happiness of life rests. But truthfulness on the part of the parent does not involve interference with the normal stages of growth through which every child passes. There is a time in which every child of any richness of nature lives in a world in which the actual and the imaginary merge into one another. In its childhood the race personified the forces or processes of nature and filled the world with imaginary beings. Those remote ancestors of ours were far from the fact; but they were much nearer the truth than those who, later, made the universe a machine and banished from it the Person who made it. Children play with the world, and the wise parent plays with them; for their play is part of their education. The wise mother cherishes the bloom which makes the world beautiful to the child; the bloom goes with the advancing day, but it is as real as the fruit that follows. The men and women are fortunate who can put themselves into the mood of their children and join them in this game of the imagination, which is a prelude to the day of work. The children who have this

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companionship become the poets, musicians, inventors, discoverers.

If the image of God is so presented by a teacher that revolt is inevitable later, the child ought to be kept away from that danger. The Sunday-school is a means to an end, and when it defeats that end it is worse than useless. The defect of Sunday-school teaching is much more likely to be inadequacy than perversion or distortion. The idea of God ought to be so naturally and simply presented to the child that experience and fuller knowledge will widen, deepen, and enrich it.

Santa Claus is neither a fact nor a lie. Santa Claus is a personification of the spirit of love. The silence of older people when the subject comes up in the presence of children is not a conspiracy to deceive; it is getting back to the point of view of childhood; it is playing the game with the children. The old man who was run into by a small boy who came "chugging" around the corner, and who answered the boy's "'Scuse me; I'm the seven o'clock train" with the words, "You are a naughty boy, and you ought to know better," was a dull man. He ought to have said, "The seven o'clock train must ring its bell when it comes around a curve." It is a mistake to treat Santa Claus as a fact, but it is as great a mistake to treat Santa Claus as a fiction. He is a symbol which all the world loves. It is easy to say to a child, "There is a Santa Claus; sometimes he looks like your father, sometimes he looks like your mother; he always looks like one who loves you."

VALUATION AND CHARACTER

Reputation is the popular valuation of a man's character; sometimes it is fairly exact, often it is woefully misleading. To a man who has a real understanding of himself and judges himself without fear or favor the reputation which he enjoys but does not deserve must be like the shirt of Nessus—a garment of torture. The man without a conscience is indifferent to the irony of a false reputation for high motives and integrity; but there are very few men without conscience; most men hear an inward monitor whose voice they may disregard but cannot silence, and the consciousness of being a fraudulent person and receiving rewards which one has not earned embitters the apparent prosperity in which many men live. The men are few who do not covet the confidence and honor of their fellows; and the man who described another's career as "getting on," "getting honor," and "getting honest" humorously suggested a not uncommon progression in human experience.

A little pamphlet, issued anonymously, clearly points out the difference between the bookkeeping value of commercial assets and the cash value. When a bank, an insurance company, or a business house fails, the newspapers publish lists of liabilities and assets, and the comparison of the lists often gives comfort to the creditors. But the comfort is sometimes illusive, for there is often a tragic discrepancy between the values of the assets as they appear on the books and their actual values in the market. Bookkeeping may be as exact, so far as figures are concerned, as a law of mathematics, and as misleading as a mirage. Many business houses are bankrupt at the very moment when the books show a large surplus of capital. Dishonest bookkeeping is probably rare, but illusive bookkeeping is very common. Men of thorough business habits do not allow themselves to be imposed upon by their books; they insist on ample allowance for depreciation of stock, machinery, and building, and for shrinkage of investment values. Cash valuation lies at the foundation of successful business.

The man who is honest with himself "cashes" his character, so to speak, from time to time to discuss the difference, if it exists, between the bookkeeping value of his character and its real value; in a word, the difference between his reputation and his character. Many men conform outwardly to high ethical standards and profess inward devotion to the spiritual life; they identify themselves with churches and subscribe generously to the many benevolent or altruistic enterprises which appeal for support. Such men secure high valuation, and are often deceived themselves by the popular regard in which they are held; but when the temptation comes and the character is "cashed," so to speak, a tragic disparity is brought to light and apparent prosperity ends in sudden and discreditable bankruptcy.

The man who is honest with himself will keep his accounts with himself on a basis of uncompromising truth; he will make his practice conform to his profession; he will face steadily and frankly the cash value of his character.

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THE STRUGGLE OVER HOME RULE

TWO OPPOSING VIEWS

I—THE CRISIS IN ENGLAND

BY GRACE S. H. TYTUS, F.R.G.S.

*Why should there be in Great Britain the threat of civil war? Such a crisis does not arise from academic theories, but only from strong feeling. The way to find out why people feel strongly on any matter is to let them speak for themselves. The following article speaks for Ulster and Conservative England. It is written from the point of view of those who are uncompromising in their opposition to Home Rule for the whole of Ireland, and it explains why they have actually taken up arms and prepared themselves for fighting. The underlying feeling for Ulster's cause evident in this article has not, however, prevented the writer from making a remarkably clear presentation of facts. We call our readers' attention especially to the extraordinary document, quoted in full, which is signed by Lord Roberts and other eminent men of England. The view of The Outlook concerning this situation is stated on the editorial pages of this number.—*THE EDITORS.

"Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision."

ON Monday, March 2, 1914, there went forth to a great nation from a small body of individuals an appeal of such immense significance, couched in terms of such restraint and power, that it takes rank with the great documents of history. I refer to the appeal made to England by twenty English subjects in the face of great and imminent danger to their country. It is a temperate and simple statement, put forth "soberly, advisedly, and in the fear of God," by men who lead by virtue of their own achievements in the various departments of national life; but no one can read the message to which they have affixed their names without a thrill of pride, for, whatever the ultimate response may prove to be, these twenty have given to every individual in the Kingdom what the unwieldy mechanism of government denied him—the chance to bear witness for his conscience and his country.

Before inserting in full the text of this remarkable document, let us for a moment look at the general situation which has evoked it.

The Home Rule Bill, granting self-government to Ireland against the wish of the most important part of her population, has passed its first reading of the third session in the House of Commons. Twice in previous sessions it has been thrown out by the House of Lords. If on a third reading in the present session it passes the House, whether it is approved by the Lords or not, it becomes law. This would mean, in the coercion of Ulster, forcing on the more progressive part of Ireland a form of government, as well as a religious issue, to which it is bitterly opposed. Rather than submit to this, the population of Ulster is prepared to take up arms and fight to the death in defense of civil and religious liberty. Ulster maintains that "the Government have no moral authority to pass their bill into law at all, because it is a measure of far-reaching constitutional change, affecting adversely the citizenship and the security of a great community, which has never been submitted to the judgment of the nation."

Why has it not "been submitted to the judgment of the nation"? And why, after lying dormant for years, has the question of Home Rule for Ireland suddenly awakened with such energy from its long sleep? The answer lies in the history of the problem, which dates back to the time when a bill to grant self-government to Ireland was evolved by Parnell, as a remedy for the great and appalling agrarian depression then prevailing in that part of the United Kingdom. Peel's famous conundrum, propounded to the House of Commons, "What made treason reason in Ireland? Answer, The absentee"—was as true as it was witty. The island lay mired in a slough of despond from which it could not drag itself, and from which the people of the United Kingdom showed no inclination to drag it. The question was threshed out again and again in both Houses of Parliament, and the issue was fought out during

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the Gladstone Ministry with unparalleled virulence and violence until, in 1886, a Home Rule Bill was finally pushed through Parliament by means of the "steam roller" and the parliamentary "guillotine," and became law, only to relapse with the fall of the Ministry which had created it, before it had a chance to come into operation. The chief practical result that it left behind it was a strong Irish Nationalist party in the House of Commons. This party owed its political existence entirely to Home Rule, and, in order to preserve it, Home Rule must be kept alive. So it constituted itself guardian of a Nationalist policy which economically was fast becoming a survival owing to the vast improvement in the agrarian situation of Ireland which originally gave it birth. Politically, however, the question always remained on the calendar because it was the sole bond of union between a body of men who, while they remained a body, carried sufficient weight to tip the scales of legislation in certain directions, and were consequently, like Kipling's Kangaroo, "very much sought after." The price of their loyalty was always the same: Home Rule for Ireland. During the years of Conservative domination they iterated and reiterated their demand with wearisome persistence, but with little success, until the Liberals, who came into power in 1906 under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman on the crest of a revolutionary wave, proceeded to inaugurate a policy of such radical—one might almost say wildcat—legislation, that they suddenly found themselves unable to command a majority without the Irish vote. Here was the great chance for Mr. Redmond and the Irish Nationalists, and here began that business of *quid pro quo* which has ended in making a political side issue not merely the main question on which the present Government must stand or fall, but a menace which threatens to disrupt the Empire.

It is essential to any clear understanding of "the case for Ireland," as it at present stands, that the fact of its intrinsic unimportance should be kept severely in mind; it persists for political and sentimental, rather than economic, reasons. As a recent writer has put it, "the case for Home Rule itself derives practically the whole of its strength from a sentiment; it has been admitted over and over again that it does so: the sentiment behind it is all that makes it a serious cause in these days and entitles it to respect." Here we have the true gist of the situation; and it is precisely this sentiment which has been nursed and coddled into a platform by a political party, in order that they may preserve their political existence and hold the whip over the Nation's lawmakers. It is essentially exploitation of an ideal, rather than devotion to an ideal; and, furthermore, they demand that for that ideal others shall make the sacrifices.

Let us glance for a moment at the pieces in the game to-day, and first of all at the board itself, the bill as it at present stands. It is admittedly an unsatisfactory instrument, a patchwork of unworkable complexities; even its supporters concede its manifest imperfection. It confers on the body politic of Ireland self-government in home affairs, subject to control in Imperial matters by the Parliament at Westminster; but, while refusing to the British elector the right to vote on Irish internal questions, it gives the Irish representatives in the United Parliament the right to vote on matters of British internal policy. It furthermore goes on to force the will of a Roman Catholic, agrarian, and for the most part unenlightened and seditious majority on a Protestant, industrial, progressive, and well-educated minority, against its will, and to the imperiling of its material existence.

There has been talk (but only talk) in this connection of an added clause to an already overloaded bill, providing that four counties of Ulster should be excluded from the field covered by the provisions of the Act, and that a system of "Home Rule within Home Rule" should be set up. Even if this were practicable, which one gravely questions in a land where from time immemorial men have "hated each other for the love of God," it would be merely a palliative measure, a *modus vivendi* for the moment. Sooner or later, under any such arrangement, the old wounds of Ireland would gape afresh and cry out even more loudly than does the present situation for a cure, not an anæsthetic.

The present Home Rule Bill, in its further provisions for finance, defense, and general administration, is a ponderous, involved, and unworkable piece of legislative machinery, put together with small regard for the relation of the parts to the whole, and with an almost flippant disregard of the peculiar political structure of Ireland, which in its sharp divisions of race, creed, and temperament makes the framing of any fair scheme of

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self-government a task to tax the utmost powers of the sanest and most temperate minds.

It would be a mistake to suppose that such sane and temperate minds are to be found alone in the Unionist ranks. There are many men to-day of the highest personal and political integrity who sincerely believe that some form of Home Rule is the only ultimate solution of the Irish problem—Home Rulers who have no political ax to grind, who are willing to make sacrifices for their ideal and who are governed by the purest patriotism. The consensus of opinion among men such as these would seem to be that the first step along the road must be the total discarding of the present Home Rule Bill, which has been amended and tortured out of all homogeneity or effectiveness, in order to begin afresh on a new basis. One asks why, with civil war staring the nation in the face as the alternative, this is not done. Because the Home Rule Bill cannot become law at this session unless it is passed *in its present form, without change;* and the Asquith Ministry, in return for benefits received in the form of support and Insurance Acts and Land taxes and Budgets, *et al.*, have pledged themselves to pass the measure at this session. To delay would be to lose the Irish vote, and public confidence in the Ministry is already so undermined that the loss of the Nationalists would mean a loss of the majority in the House of Commons, with the dissolution of the Ministry as a result. The one thing which all parties outside the Government demand, and which the Government refuses, is a general election. Ulster, armed and ready to fight, yet agrees to abide by the voice of the country at large and place her fate unreservedly in the nation's hands, if only the nation be given the right to speak. There are only three ways in which a general election can be brought about; and let us consider them and see why they are not presently available. The first is that the Government itself should insist on going to the country—this is, of course, the clear moral duty in view of the deadly peril to the nation involved in shirking it. But, in the first place, the Ministry has pledged its word to see Home Rule through during this session, and a general election would make this impossible. In the second place, there is very little doubt that an appeal to the electorate would result in the downfall of the Liberal Ministry and the relegation of Home Rule once more to a limbo of remote future possibility. The Government majority in the House of Commons is a very different thing in appearance from what it is in reality, and there seems every probability that a general election would overthrow it if the signs of the times point true. The recent by-elections have been amply significant of this. In Bethnal Green—"Death-Knell Green" as the posters tauntingly called it the morning after—a Cabinet Minister himself, Mr. Masterman, was actually defeated in a constituency hitherto a solid Government stronghold, and a Conservative elected. In South Bucks, a very important constituency, the same thing occurred; and even more significant was the defeat of the Conservative candidate in Poplar, for here was a fastness supposed to be so overwhelmingly Liberal as to be impregnable, with a Liberal candidate whose integrity and personal popularity were an immense force, and yet the Government victory in the saving of this seat was almost a defeat, inasmuch as Mr. Yeo crawled to safety on the slenderest rope of a majority which could serve to carry him over a political abyss, instead of walking serenely to triumph down that broad highway of popular indorsement which the Ministerial press had so confidently predicted. To save its face the Ministry dare not go to the country voluntarily, for it realizes that such a course would be political suicide; so once more politics take precedence over patriotism.

The second way to bring about a general election would be for the Government to be defeated on some party measure and have to dissolve. To obviate this they are taking no chances, bringing forward no bills entailing risk, and while their majority still obtains they cannot be forced into an election. Despite the significance of the recent by-elections, the seats thus affected are not sufficient in number to make any immediate difference. The third and last way in which the much-desired general election could be brought about is by the King. It is very seldom that this has been done. Technically the King is in the hands of his Ministers, and only the gravest possible crisis can justify his exercise of this royal prerogative. But the prerogative exists, and that George V realizes the gravity of the situation is only too apparent from his speech at the opening of Parliament, when he said: "Unless the Rome Rule question is handled now with foresight and

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judgment and a spirit of mutual concession, it threatens grave future difficulties. It is my most earnest wish that the good will and co-operation of men of all parties and creeds may heal the dissension and be the foundation of a lasting settlement."

That he has the *heart* to dare anything for the country is beyond question—as are his sincerity and his sense of responsibility. But the great envisaging imagination which would point the way beyond all peradventure is lacking, and without it he is lost in the mazes of too many counselors befogged by conflicting advice.

The King has a right to request his Prime Minister to hold a general election. The Prime Minister has only two alternatives—to accede or to resign. In the present crisis Mr. Asquith would of necessity choose the latter, and the King would then request the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Bonar Law) to assemble a Cabinet and formulate a platform and then go before the country for approval.

If the election resulted in changing a sufficient number of seats to give the new Ministry a majority in the House of Commons, well and good; if not, the King would find himself in the anomalous position of having to ask the Prime Minister whom he had but recently discarded to again assume the reins of Government, for no Ministry can stand unless it can command a majority in the House. This is of course a risk which no sovereign likes to face—but in the present crisis it would seem as if, no matter what the result, the King could not go wrong in taking it. His courage, his patriotism, and his impartiality would at least remain above all question, for his attitude would be, in substance, this:

"The proposed measure is one to which a vast number of my subjects are prepared to face civil war and lay down their lives rather than submit to. I take no side for or against it; but as the Commander-in-Chief of the Army I cannot ask my troops to shoot down their fellow-subjects unless I know whether it is the will of my people as a whole. As a trustee of the national honor, I place the issue in the hands of the nation."

Meanwhile, while the King stays his hand, what is Ulster doing? For two years she has been quietly but determinedly facing the issue, and training a volunteer military force which to-day is prepared and ready for immediate action. Some idea of the magnitude of this can be gained from the fact that the Ulster Volunteer Force has already an effective strength of over 100,000 men, which exceeds the strength laid down as necessary for its purpose. In Belfast alone there are 27,000 drilled volunteers. A special service corps is to be formed, consisting of 3,000 men picked for their efficiency from the various battalions of the Belfast division, and these men on mobilization will be instantly ready to go anywhere in the province where reinforcements are required. Tyrone alone has put five battalions in the field. At a recent parade of the Second Battalion, Tyrone Regiment, Ulster Volunteer Force, at Omagh, 1,410 officers and men turned out for a mobilization test, ninety-four per cent of the men who had attended drill during the month being on parade. The transport included eighty-three carts and wagons, with a full supply of intrenching tools.

It may furthermore be noted that of the five Tyrone battalions, two have a much greater numerical strength than the Omagh Battalion, the regiments totaling approximately 10,000 men. What this entails in the matter of sacrifice is grimly inspiring, for Tyrone is a county not included in the four suggested for exclusion, and one in which Unionists are in a minority. The measure of the sacrifice made by men, women, and children in Tyrone in defense of an ideal may be gauged by a glance at the population, which in 1911 was 142,665—of whom 79,015 were Roman Catholics, and 63,650 Protestants of various denominations. Practically one Protestant in six, counting men, women, and children, is a volunteer, which means that almost every Protestant of serviceable age has enlisted. This extraordinary spirit of sacrifice has permeated all classes, and army officers, doctors, and professional men have given up their time and money. Men have walked miles after a hard day's work to take part in field operations; in the mills of the great industrial centers half the meal hour has for months past been given up to instruction in drill. Classes in ambulance work for the women, in regimental signaling, etc., for the men, are met with everywhere, and on a neighboring hill may be a costly and powerful signaling lamp flashing out messages to a signal station twelve and a half miles away on the trunk signaling line from Belfast to Derry, the despatches being sent and read with a rapidity of which the regular army need not be ashamed. Not only drill and marksmanship, but the most exhaustive field

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work has been in progress for months, so that the resistance that Ulster is prepared to offer in an emergency is a thing not to be despised. If the necessity arise, it will mean civil war—the greatest evil which politics ever provoked upon a nation.

It is at this juncture that twenty Englishmen step forward, impelled by their sense of deadly peril to the country, and do what neither King nor Cabinet has dared—put the issue before the conscience of every man and woman in the land, and ask them to give a reason for the faith that is in them. They give to England, as it were, an informal referendum by putting up to every individual a question which he must shirk or face. This document, which is one of the most remarkable that has appeared anywhere in our time, is worth insertion in full, and reads as follows:

"The time is fast approaching when the evident intention of the Government to pass the Home Rule Bill into law, without giving the nation, either by means of a general election or of a referendum, an opportunity of pronouncing judgment upon it, will plunge this Kingdom into civil turmoil without parallel in living memory.

"Ministers still utterly fail to appreciate the intensity of feeling which their contemplated action excites among vast numbers of people in Great Britain, as until quite recently they failed to appreciate the strength of the resistance it would encounter in Ulster.

"We believe that hundreds of thousands of our fellow-citizens, serious and law-abiding men, share our conviction that a fundamental change in the constitution of the United Kingdom, effected without the concurrence and, as we think, against the wish of a majority of the nation, will be utterly devoid of moral sanction.

"Under these circumstances, the resistance which will certainly be offered to it by those Irishmen who are unwilling to be deprived of their existing status as full citizens of the United Kingdom will be a well-justified resistance. Holding that view, we cannot ourselves sit still, if measures are taken to coerce men who in our eyes will be defending not only their own rights, but those of the whole nation.

"We therefore appeal to all our fellow-countrymen who are of the same mind to join us, while there is yet time, in a solemn protest and declaration that we cannot accept and shall decline to be bound by the provisions of a law which radically alters the constitution of the Kingdom, as long as that law has not received the sanction of the people.

"By signing that declaration no man will pledge himself to take any particular action of which at a given moment his conscience and judgment do not approve. It is in fact impossible to decide to-day what steps may be necessary or would be effective in circumstances which every man who loves his country must continue to hope will not arise. But it is not too soon for those who realize the imminent danger of a great catastrophe to band themselves together and declare their fixed intention and resolve to do whatever they individually can to prevent the disruption of the United Kingdom by unconstitutional methods and the injustice and oppression which it will entail.

"By taking this course they will give timely notice to the Government of the consequences which must result, not only in Ireland, but in Great Britain, from persistence in their present policy.

"If the response to our appeal is such as we expect, it will give the lie to the assertion that the country is apathetic, and that the opposition which the action of the Government has excited is merely ordinary party opposition, and can be disposed of for good and all by victorious divisions in the House of Commons.

"The following form of words has been adopted with a view to testing the strength and sincerity of the promise so often made to those of our fellow-citizens in Ireland whose one prayer is not to be cast out from their citizenship of the United Kingdom, that they will not be left to fight their battle alone.

"Arrangements are in progress, and will be announced within the next day or two, whereby the declaration can be signed in every part of the country, and a careful register will be kept of the names and number of those who adhere to it. Nothing would have been easier than to extend greatly the list of the original signatories, but this would have involved delay, and it appears of supreme importance that the process of signing should be set on foot at once and in a great number of places simultaneously.

"We have, therefore, thought it best to publish the declaration now, in the confident assurance that whatever it may at present lack in authority and representative character will be speedily supplied by the adhesion

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which will be given to it by men of all classes in every quarter of Great Britain.

"The Declaration is as follows:

"I, ———, of ———, earnestly convinced that the claim of the Government to carry the Home Rule Bill into law, without submitting it to the judgment of the nation, is contrary to the spirit of our constitution,

DO HEREBY SOLEMNLY DECLARE

that, if that Bill is so passed, I shall hold myself justified in taking or supporting any action that may be effective to prevent it being put into operation, and more particularly to prevent the armed forces of the Crown being used to deprive the people of Ulster of their rights as citizens of the United Kingdom.

"To this Declaration we have all signed our names.

"ROBERTS.
"E. H. SEYMOUR.
"ALDENHAM.
"BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH.
"GEORGE HAYTER CHUBB.
"WM. CUNNINGHAM.
"DESBOROUGH.
"A. V. DICEY.
"EDWARD ELGAR.
"HENRY GOUDY.
"HALIFAX.
"ALEXANDER HENDERSON.
"RUDYARD KIPLING.
"LOVAT.
"MILNER.
"PORTLAND.
"WILLIAM RAMSAY.
"JOHN STIRLING-MAXWELL.
"HENRY WACE.
"T. HERBERT WARREN.

"March 2, 1914."

Who are these men, and what have they done? A brief biography of each will tell us.

EARL ROBERTS, V.C. Member of the Order of Merit, and a Field Marshal. Recently declared in the House of Lords that it was "unthinkable that the British army could be called upon to fight against the Ulster Volunteers." He added: "To do so would be, as Lord Wolseley wrote, the ruin of the British army."

SIR EDWARD SEYMOUR. Admiral of the Fleet. G.C.B. Member of the Order of Merit. Served in the Crimea, China, and Egypt.

LORD ALDENHAM. Senior partner in Antony Gibbs & Sons, merchants. M.P. from 1902–8 for the City of London. H. M. Lieutenant for City of London.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH, K.T. Has served as chairman of many Royal Commissions, and was Secretary for Scotland from 1895 to 1903. A member of the Church of Scotland.

SIR GEORGE HAYTER CHUBB, BT. A leading Nonconformist, who has filled many public offices. Chairman of the Nonconformist Unionist Association.

ARCHDEACON CUNNINGHAM. A famous economist. Has lectured at Cambridge and Harvard. Professor of Economics, King's College, London, 1891–7.

LORD DESBOROUGH, K.C.V.O. A famous athlete. Represented his university, rowing and running. Chairman of Thames Conservancy Board.

PROFESSOR A. V. DICEY, D.C.L., K.C. Vinerian Professor of English Law, 1882–1909. The great constitutional lawyer who wrote "The Law of the Constitution."

SIR EDWARD ELGAR, Mus. Doc. A member of many foreign academies. Composer of the "Dream of Gerontius," etc.

HENRY GOUDY, D.C.L. Regius Professor of Civil Law, Oxford, since 1893. Has been Professor of Civil Law, Edinburgh University.

VISCOUNT HALIFAX. President of the English Church Union.

SIR ALEXANDER HENDERSON, BT. Eminent City merchant and chairman of the Great Central Railway.

RUDYARD KIPLING. The poet of the Empire. Nobel Prize for Literature.

LORD LOVAT, K.C.V.O., D.S.O. Head of the Clan Fraser. Commanded Lovat's Scouts during the South African War.

VISCOUNT MILNER, G.C.B. Chairman Board of Inland Revenue, 1892–7. Has been Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, and High Commissioner for South Africa.

DUKE OF PORTLAND, K.G. Lord Lieutenant of Nottingham and Caithness. Large landowner. The first Earl was a Lieutenant-General at the Battle of the Boyne.

SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY, K.C.B. Fellow of the Royal Society. Nobel prizeman 1904. Professor of Chemistry, University College, London, 1887 to 1913. Honorary member of many academies. One of the first British men of science now living.

SIR JOHN STIRLING-MAXWELL, BT. Was M.P. for the College Division of Glasgow, 1895–1906. Great Scotch landowner.

VERY REV. HENRY WACE, D.D. Dean of Canterbury since 1903. Eminent theologian.

DR. T. HERBERT WARREN, HON. D.C.L. President of Magdalen College, Oxford, since 1885. Professor of Poetry at Oxford.

It is men such as these who have come forward at a time when the Chief Secretary for Ireland was delivering at Bristol the most

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insanely provocative and insulting speech that has been heard since the Home Rule controversy opened; at a time when plans are on foot for a Nationalist demonstration in Derry which could originate only in a deliberate wish to bring about an explosion and precipitate the chaos that is dreaded by every man who is not a pitiless enemy of Ireland. We can safely assume that in no other outstanding political cause whatsoever could they have been induced to lend the weight of their joint names, yet they have calmly and deliberately set them to what is "nothing less than a manifesto, a declaration of their convictions upon the supreme political issue of the day, thereby inviting their fellow-countrymen everywhere to follow the example which they have been impelled, by their love for their fatherland and regard for its honor and safety, to set." It is impossible to exaggerate the meaning of such a co-operation. It denotes, in the words of one of the leading editorials, "a stirring of political responsibility in the best minds of the nation such as is seldom felt in time of peace, and such as nothing, perhaps, but the visible approach of the gravest peril to the country could have brought to pass."

But, above all, it is the call to acrifice—sacrifice in no measured terms, be it noted, but according to that a man hath and will. He is asked to bind himself to no rigid rule, to conform to no plan of action, but simply to pledge himself "to do whatever he individually can to prevent the disruption of the United Kingdom by unconstitutional methods, and the injustice and oppression it will entail." This appeal rings out across the land with the solemnity of a tolling bell. It is the voice of that authority than which there is none nobler or higher, the authority that speaks through complete sincerity and truth.

The English nation must be deaf indeed if it does not pause to heed, and, heeding, to act.

II—THE ULSTER MENACE

BY FRANK HARPER

*The following is a review of the same situation that is treated in the preceding article, but in this case it is from the point of view of the Liberals. On his way from Matto Grosso, in Brazil, where he had been with Mr. Roosevelt as private secretary, Mr. Harper went to England. There he spent two or three weeks in London. He was already thoroughly familiar with the general purport of the Home Rule Bill, inasmuch as for four years previous to his coming to live in America he had been in one of the Central Liberal Organizations in London and had taken part in many political contests, while for the two years immediately preceding his coming to America he had been secretary to Mr. Robert Donald, Managing Editor of the "Daily Chronicle," the leading Liberal organ in London.—*THE EDITORS.

I HAVE just returned from a visit to England, where I had the opportunity of talking with leaders of all sections of politics in England, Ireland, and Scotland. As a result my conviction is that early next year Ireland will have a Parliament of its own sitting in Dublin. This does not mean that all difficulties have been overcome. On the contrary, there are some serious problems to solve before the Home Rule Bill is passed into law, and before it will be possible to administer such a law without disturbing the present peace of the country. Still there is hope—indeed, there is much more than hope—that by general consent the bill will be amended in such fashion as to enable each party to accept the compromise without any considerable loss of prestige.

First, what does the bill propose? It proposes to grant to Ireland a subordinate Parliament, subject to the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament in London. This subordinate Parliament will devote itself strictly and solely to Irish business, and will to that extent relieve the pressure upon the Imperial Parliament. But it will not dissolve the union between the two countries. There will merely be a readjustment of the union. Nor will it in any way affect the authority of the Imperial Parliament as the supreme law-making assembly of the British Empire. Power will also be preserved to the Imperial

(Continued on page following illustrations)

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Current Events Pictorially Treated

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THE ULSTER VOLUNTEER ARMY BEING REVIEWED BY SIR EDWARD CARSON

See article on "The Crisis in England" and editorial comment

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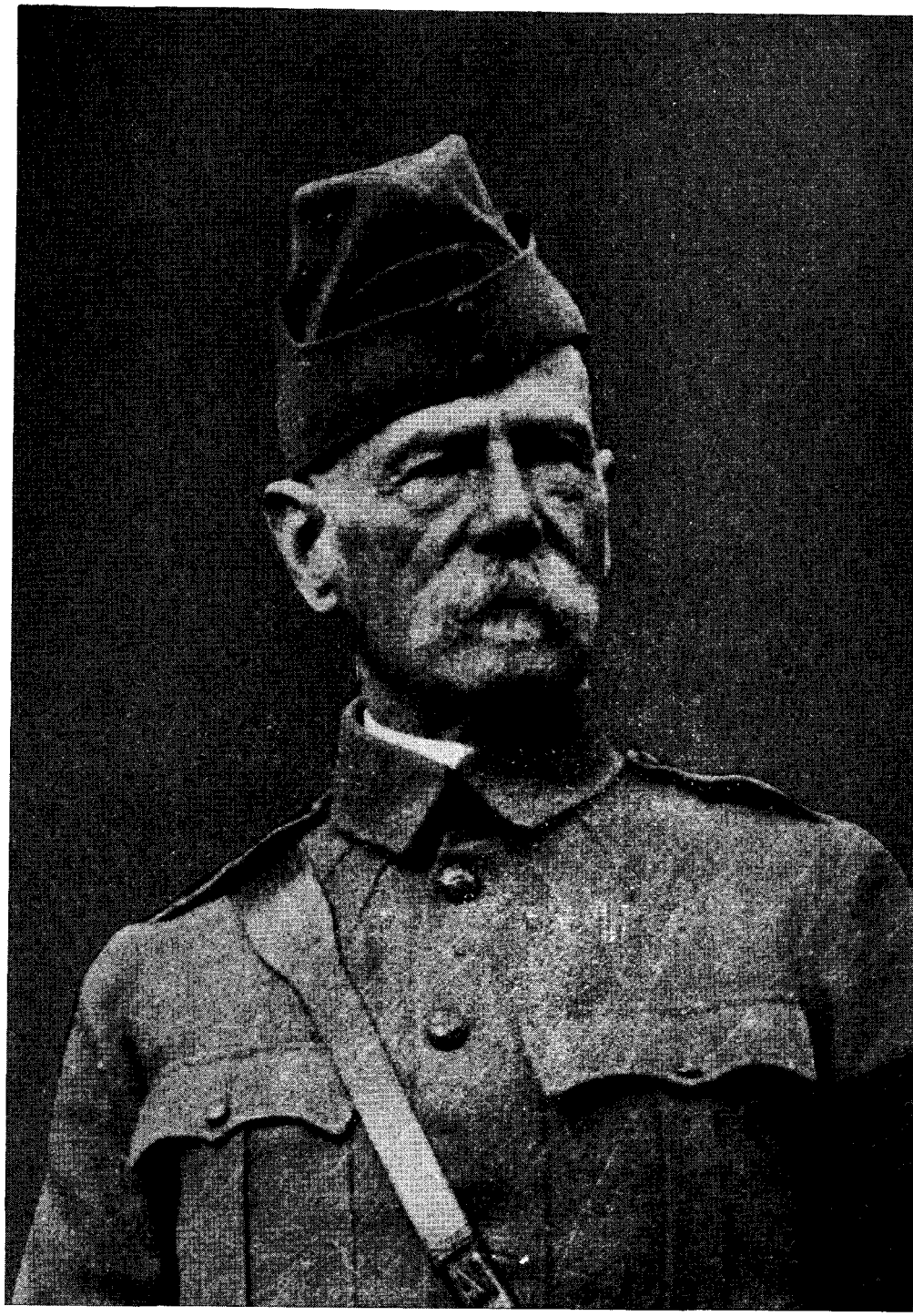

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

EARL ROBERTS

THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH ARMY AND THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH

Lord Roberts, Field Marshal, England's most distinguished soldier, known to his troops and (through Kipling's
Premier Asquith's Government in regard to Home Rule as it affects Ulster. The full

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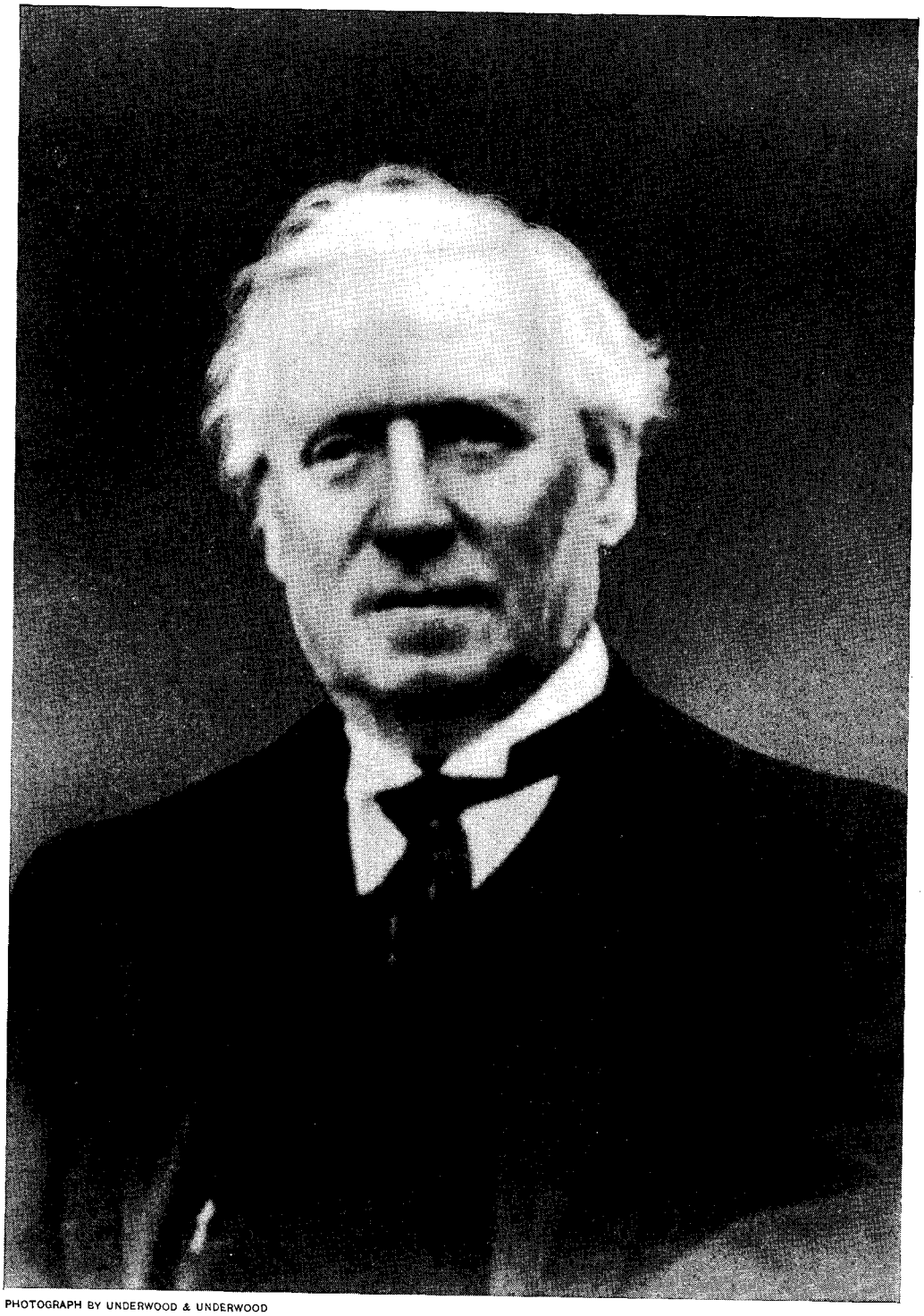

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PREMIER ASQUITH

GOVERNMENT ON OPPOSITE SIDES IN THE ULSTER CONTROVERSY

verses) to the whole world as "Bobs," heads the list of signers of the manifesto protesting against the action of text of this remarkable declaration appears in the article on "The Crisis in England"

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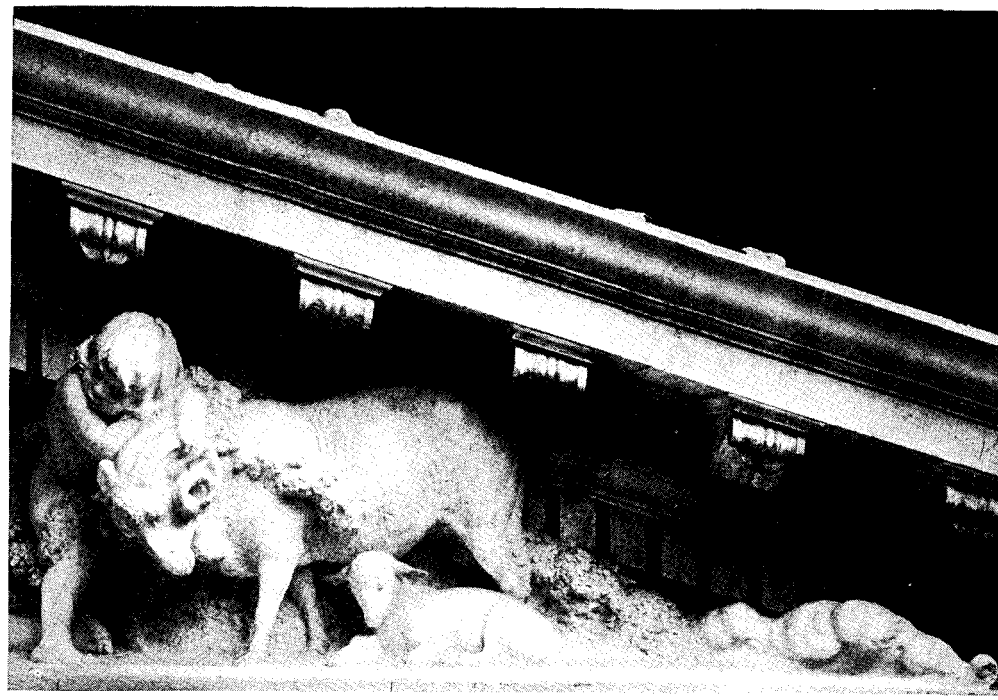

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BROWN BROTHERS

NEW SCULPTURES FOR THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

Mr. Paul Bartlett has recently arrived from Paris with the casts from which the sculptures for the pediment of the west wing of the Capitol will be carved—two of them are shown above. The commission for this work was given by Congress to Mr. Bartlett four years ago. Mr. Bartlett, whose statues of Michelangelo and of Columbus in the Congressional Library at Washington and of Lafayette in the court of the Louvre in Paris are noteworthy, has here skillfully adapted his sculptures to the architectural limitations of the pediment

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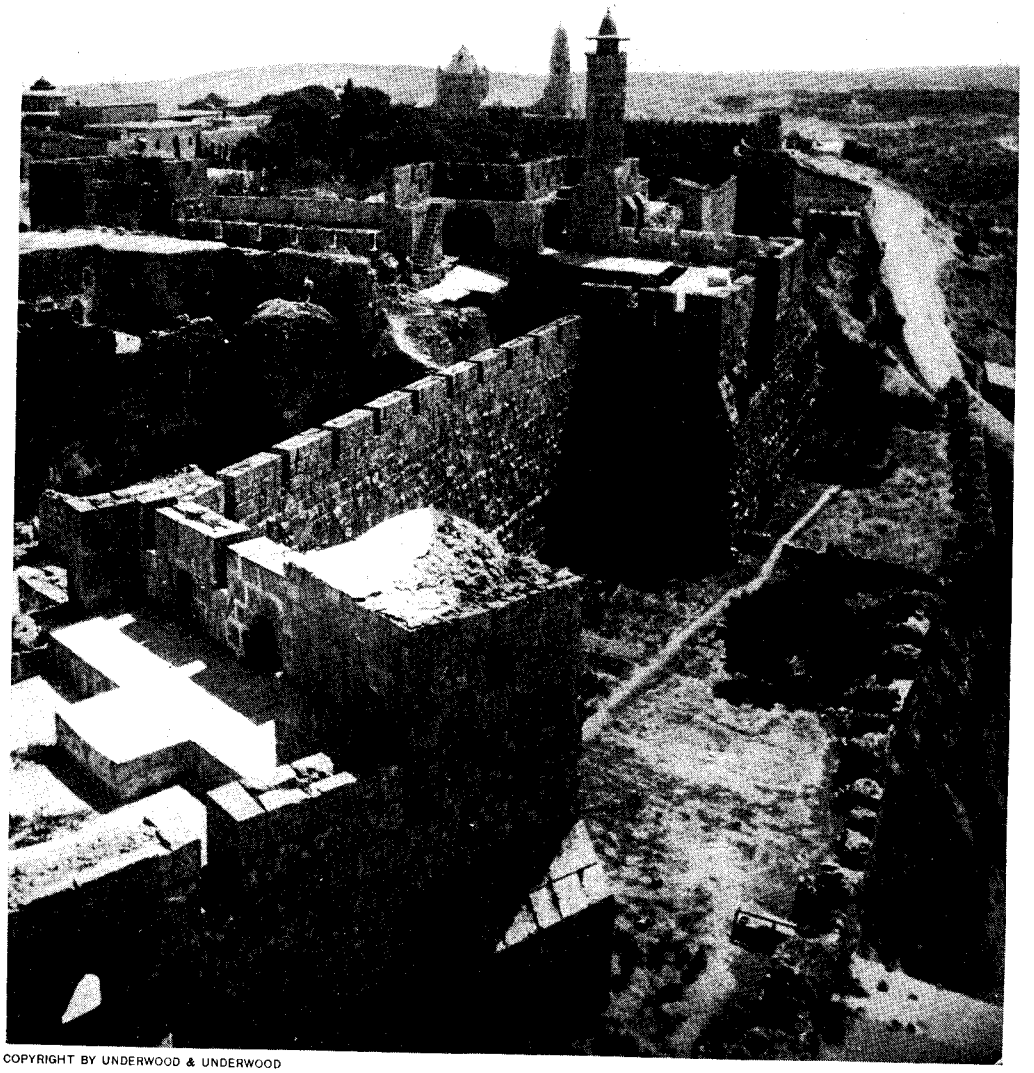

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JERUSALEM TO BE MODERNIZED

The walls of the Holy City, it is reported, are in danger of demolition owing to projected improvements. Trolley lines are to be built, electric lighting introduced, and a water supply brought from a distance. The mediæval walls of the city are, according to report, being offered for sale by the authorities as building material. All lovers of historic antiquities will hope that the efforts which are being made to save some of the massive towers and portions of the walls will succeed. See editorial comment

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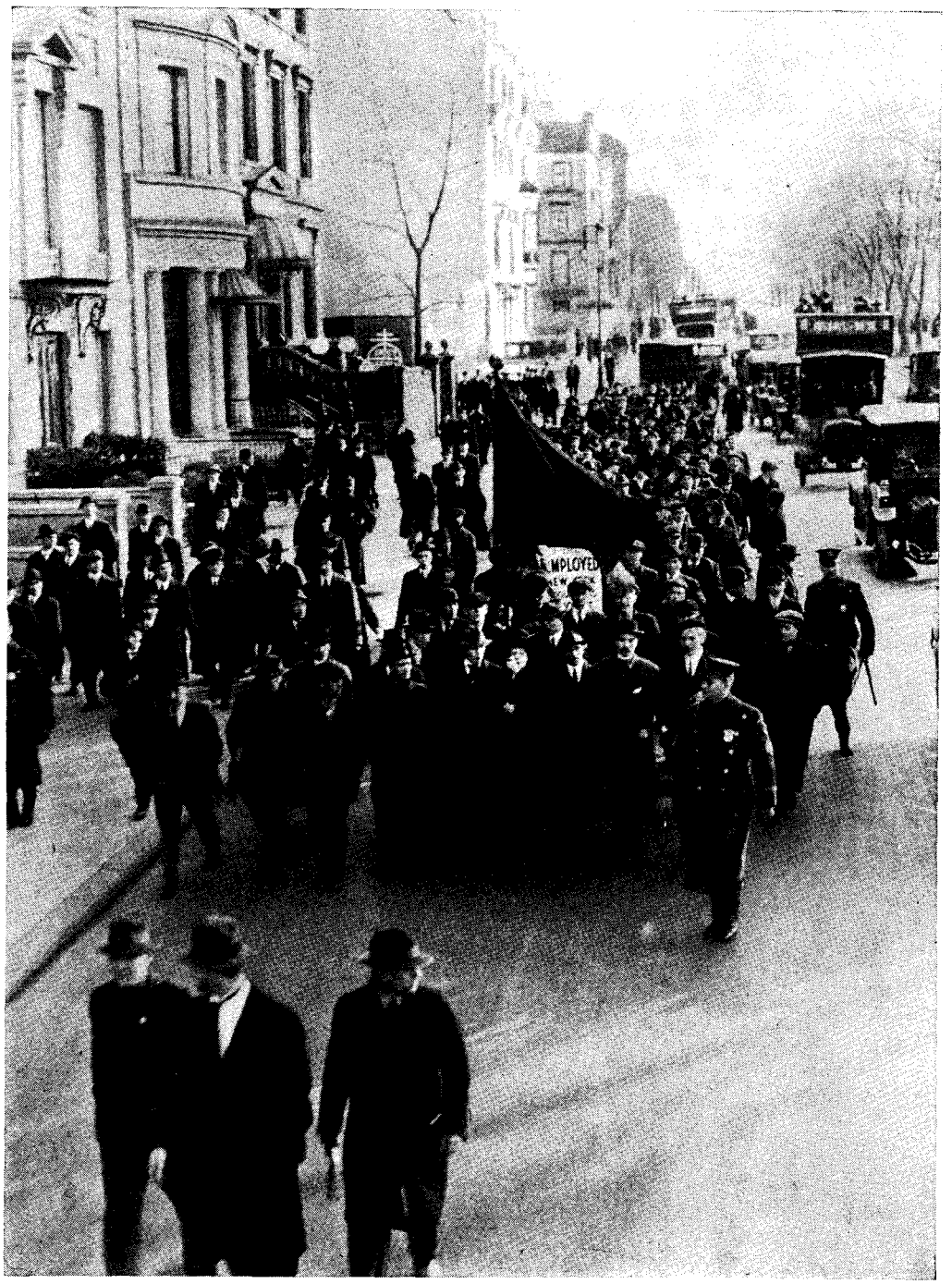

PHOTOGRAPH BY INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

THE BLACK FLAG OF ANARCHY

Fifth Avenue, New York City, furnished, a week ago last Saturday, the dramatic setting for a scene not often witnessed in America. The environment of wealth and prosperity through which this band of Anarchists carried the symbol of their revolt furnished them with the striking contrast they desired for purposes of publicity

See editorial comment

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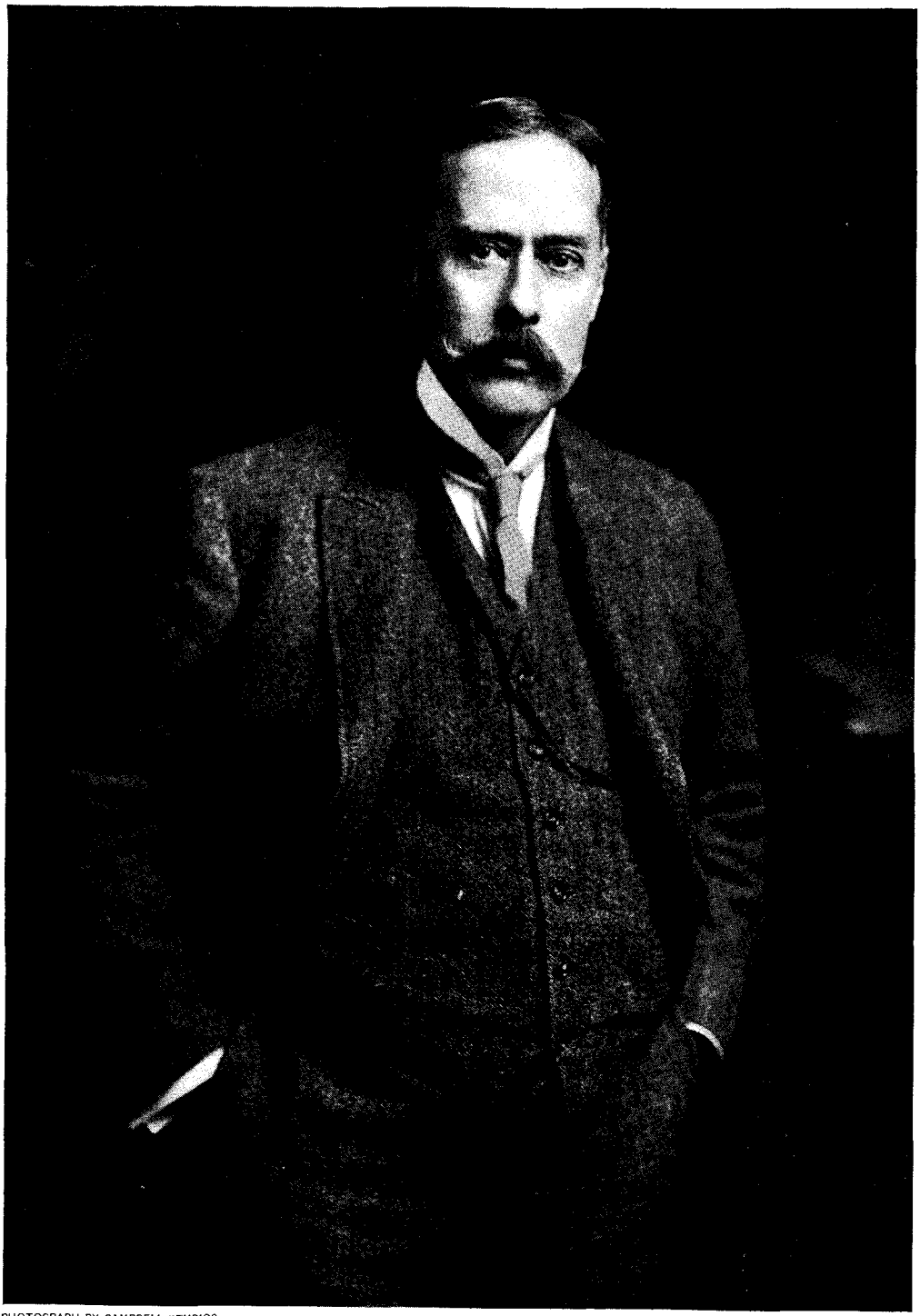

PHOTOGRAPH BY CAMPBELL STUDIOS

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Frank Johnson Goodnow, recently chosen as the new head of Johns Hopkins University, was born in Brooklyn in 1859; was graduated from Amherst in 1879; became Professor of Administrative Law and Municipal Science in Columbia in 1903; and is the author of several important works on legal and political subjects

See editorial comment

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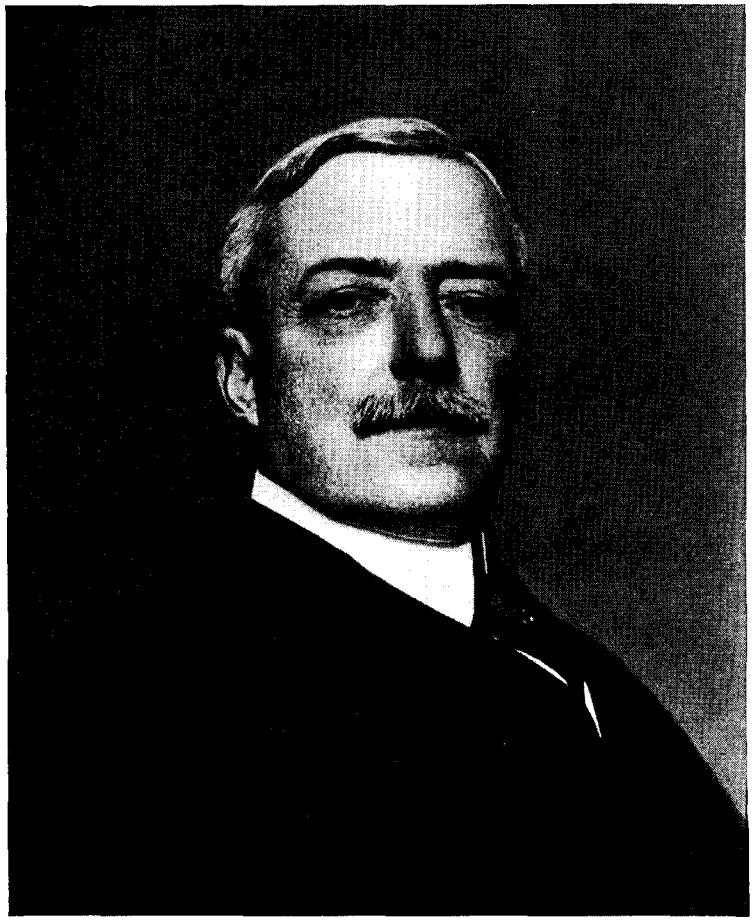

PHOTOGRAPH BY G. V. BUCK

THE NEW COUNSELOR OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT

Mr. Robert Lansing, who has been selected for the post recently vacated by Mr. John Bassett Moore, was born in 1864, in Watertown, New York; he is a lawyer by profession; he was associate counsel for the United States in the Bering Sea Arbitration in 1892, and counsel in the Fisheries Arbitration at The Hague in 1909

PHOTOGRAPH BY MORRISON

AN ANTI-BOSS CANDIDATE FOR ALDERMAN IN CHICAGO

Miss Marion Drake, whose picture is shown above, is attempting to oust the politicians who have made the First Ward of Chicago famous, or infamous, as the stronghold of "Hinky Dink" and "Bathhouse John." Miss Drake is an energetic woman who is not afraid to carry her ideals into the worst slums of the city

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Parliament to prevent, if it so wills, any act of the Irish Parliament being put upon the statute-book. It is by this provision that the Liberal Government has sought to allay the fears of those who think that Ireland wants complete separation and undisputed national sovereignty. All men, including the Irish themselves, are agreed that the authority of the Imperial Parliament must remain intact, and Mr. Redmond, speaking recently in the House of Commons on behalf of the Nationalist party, declared his complete agreement with this provision. "We want peace with England," he said. "We deny that we are separatists, and we say we are willing to accept a subordinate Parliament as a final settlement of Ireland's claims."

Ever since the Irish people secured the franchise they have been pressing this claim upon Great Britain. But their requests have been refused. There is now, however, a real and genuine possibility that at last their hopes may be at least partially realized. The present bill has already been passed at two successive sessions of Parliament, and, in accordance with the Parliament Act, if it is passed again during the present session it will become law upon the King's assent.

So far as passing the bill into law is concerned there is little difficulty, for the Liberal Government has a majority in the House of Commons, and it is inconceivable that the King would refuse to sign a bill passed in due accordance with the law of the land. The one serious obstacle is Ulster. It is this problem which now threatens a permanent settlement of the Irish question. Before going into Mr. Asquith's suggestions regarding this province—or, to speak more correctly, of part of this province, for the threatened insurrection comes from only four of the nine counties—let us examine the problem a little.

First, what is Ulster? It is one of the four provinces of Ireland, consisting of nine counties; it returns to Parliament seventeen members in favor of the bill and sixteen against, or a majority of one in favor. It is a province in which the population is very nearly evenly divided between Catholics and Protestants. Nearly all the Catholics are in favor of the bill, while there is a small percentage of Protestants also in favor of it, altogether probably a majority of the voters if the province is taken as a unit. Only four of the nine counties have a clear majority against Home Rule—the counties Down, Armagh, Antrim, and Derry.

It is in these four counties that the opposition to the bill centers, and that military preparations are now being made to resist the Act by force if the bill is passed into law. Their chief assertion is that they fear religious persecution from an Irish Catholic Parliament and an Irish Catholic administration, and that such a Parliament and administration would seek to ruin them and their businesses. These men are therefore forming a citizens' army, and threaten civil war if their demands are not met. The men who take it upon themselves to voice the sentiments of these people have up to the present merely shouted a frantic defiance against the proposals of the Government. Before very long, however, their demands will probably become plainer, and, it is possible, a little more conciliatory and reasonable than they have been in the past. The nearer men get to the brink of a great catastrophe, such as civil war would be, the more carefully they weigh their words and consider their actions, though it must be said that some of the men in Ulster seem to have lost all sense of reason in the matter. In case of a conflagration there is no knowing who will say the last word. As Mr. Ramsey Macdonald, leader of the Labor party, declared, "It is interesting to hear the party of law and order talking so lightly about lawlessness in Ulster, encouraging a section of the country to try and undo a decision of the House of Commons by an appeal to arms. If that doctrine were sanctioned, it could not be confined to Ulster. The Labor party has always stood by orderliness and appeals to the reason of the people, and I believe it would be a bad day for the country if they were to revert to the primitive method of deciding questions of this kind by brute force."

Who these Ulstermen are and what they are doing is succinctly set forth by an eyewitness whose account appeared in the "Westminster Gazette." "From a military point of view the Volunteer Force is not to be regarded seriously. The drilling has been elementary; the companies are officered, for the most part, by men of their own election, with no more military knowledge than belongs to those in the ranks, with a sprinkling of superannuated military men and former non-commissioned officers. There is the material of a very considerable army, but the material is without any proper equipment of arms, and without the trained staff which could give it any kind of sound drill. Yet,

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without any delusion as to its military value, one may admit that the Ulster Volunteer Force is a very considerable fact."

Then this onlooker goes on to relate his experiences at the assembling of one of the regiments: "One by one the various contingents arrived," he reported. "Ladies with Red Cross bandages drove into the town on jaunting-cars. When they assembled and marched through the main street, they made a more soldier-like appearance than the men, stepping out with a precision and wearing a look of uncommon determination on their faces. Some of the men were obviously too old, some little more than youths, but the majority were hardy men in their prime and their Sunday best. Both men and women faced the rain, which was falling steadily, with courage. On the field they were maneuvered company by company into a hollow square before the platform which had been erected. Two clergymen with umbrellas held over them consecrated the colors which were to be presented; the Lisburn Temperance Silver Band played, and the people sang, 'O God, our help in ages past.' The single maneuver which was attempted by the whole force of some seven hundred and eighty men was that of deploying into line, and it resulted in a scrambling, tumbling rush at either end of the field. It merely served to show how restricted had been the training of these volunteers. They were together for the first time, and no more than they did could be expected in such circumstances. Afterwards the main part of the force was drawn up into four files, and the new colors, in charge of the local men, were carried through the ranks, three veterans of the Boer War, carrying Martini-Metford rifles with fixed bayonets, accompanying them. And all the time the cinematograph operators worked and the photographers hurried here and there with their cameras.

"Then there was marching by the companies. Speeches followed, with cheers for the King and the ladies who had given the colors, and the men, by this time wet through and bedraggled-looking, marched off to tea. A party of English workingmen who had been brought to the display to see how determined and how well drilled these Ulstermen were had tea and speeches served to them in the hotel on the brow of the hill. Such was the end of one of the big days of the Ulster Force."

It is alleged by those who are supporting this movement that there are at least a hundred thousand of these men, and, although the force is in reality undoubtedly much less numerous, still it is a sufficient menace to cause grave concern. The danger of the future in Ulster is not the danger of civil war, of which the leaders talk, but of strife and bloodshed between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants who are neighbors. For, whatever the leaders may say, the men in the ranks believe that they are preparing to fight the Roman Catholics. That accounts for their grim seriousness, for their cold enthusiasm. The districts in which the volunteer movement has taken the strongest hold on the people are the districts where the Protestants still live in the atmosphere of the Battle of the Boyne, and where ever and anon we catch sight of the flaming placards: "Remember 1690," and "To Hell with the Pope!"

Mr. Asquith had all these facts clearly in his mind when he made his recent bid for peace. He stated that the Government was, above all things, anxious that the changes which it believed to be inevitable in the government of Ireland should start under conditions which will secure for them from the first the best chance of ultimate success, while he recognized the dangers ahead which it is the duty of statesmanship to avert. On the one hand, if the bill is passed as it stands, there is prospect of civil strife in Ulster. On the other hand, if Home Rule is shipwrecked, permanently mutilated, or indefinitely postponed, the outlook in Ireland as a whole is at least equally formidable. A settlement must therefore involve, first, the acceptance of Home Rule, with a Legislature and Executive in Dublin, and, secondly, special treatment of Ulster over and above the safeguards in the bill. Mr. Asquith then made his proposals for the special treatment of Ulster, and his plan of excluding certain portions of the province from the provisions of the bill. He proposed that the counties and county boroughs of Ulster should have the right of taking a poll of the Parliamentary electors within three months of the passing of the bill on the question of exclusion from its operation, a bare majority to decide. But this exclusion is to last only six years. After this time such excluded counties would come automatically under the Act unless the Imperial Parliament in the meantime decided otherwise.

It is upon the terms of this exclusion that the whole trouble now rests. Protestant

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Ulster—at least the portion which has up to the present been able to make up its mind what it wants—demands complete exclusion for all time. Temporary exclusion it regards as most unsatisfactory and impossible to accept or even to discuss. On the other hand, supporters of the bill are equally emphatic as to the impossibility at this stage of permitting complete exclusion to that part of Ulster which might vote in favor of exclusion. They declare that Ireland must ever remain united under one Government. Mr. Bonar Law, speaking on behalf of the Opposition, stated that it was not for Unionists to stand in the way of a settlement if Ulster was satisfied, although his party was now, as it always had been, completely opposed to the principle of the bill. On the other hand, Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Ulster malcontents, declared that, "For my part, if you take your time limit away, I would feel it my duty to go over to Ulster and to call a convention." Sir Edward Carson also made another suggestion. "Will you," he said to Mr. Asquith, "instead of making your offer in the way it is, put it in this way: 'We agree that when you have had your referendum you shall stand as you are, members of the Imperial Parliament of the United Kingdom, until Parliament otherwise orders'?"

From the time of making these statements up to now there has been no fundamental change, though certain negotiations are now in progress which will, almost without doubt, bring about a settlement of the difficulties before the Home Rule Bill is passed for the third time and becomes law. Only one thing can prevent this amicable settlement. It is that, in the heat of passion, some of the Ulstermen, fortified with the belief that they are fighting for their faith and for their freedom, may strike some fatal blow which would let loose the awful furies of civil war. It is well to remember in this hour that those who have been encouraging these men to believe that their lives, their liberties, and their religion are in danger have assumed a great and a terrible responsibility. When men start an appeal to lawlessness and anarchy, to primitive brute force, after a minority is defeated by a majority in regular constitutional fashion—then there is no saying where it will end. But unless some unforeseen outbreak occurs, there seems little doubt now that a settlement will be arrived at, and that the dreadful horrors of civil strife will be avoided.

IN THE ARGENTINE

THE ARMY; SPORT

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

IN THE SERIES ON SOUTH AMERICA

MY military aide in the Argentine was Colonel Reibaud, an Argentine of French and Irish descent. He was a capital man, every inch a soldier. He was exceedingly anxious that I should see the army. Accordingly, I spent one morning with the Secretary of War and a couple of other Cabinet Ministers out at a practice camp where a body of troops were being drilled and maneuvered. They included an infantry regiment, a cavalry regiment, and batteries of heavy siege guns, mortars, field guns, and machine guns carried on horseback. They have now in the Argentine a system which realizes in practical fashion the old democratic ideal of the founders of the United States about the National militia. The founders of our Republic had a theory that all the male inhabitants should be embodied as the militia of the country, and would afford an adequate protection to it. In practice this theory resulted in humiliating and ludicrous failure, merely because not the slightest serious effort was made to train the militia. But the theory itself was admirable, if only it had been supplemented by the practical determination to give the militia—that is, the male population of the country—some practically efficient training, so as to make them soldiers in fact and not merely in name. The Argentine Republic is with wisdom realizing this ideal. All the male members of the population are required to serve for one year in the army, excepting a certain proportion who serve for two years in the navy.

I was in the company of about a hundred officers; and what I saw afforded the clear-

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est possible proof of the unflagging industry, the painstaking care, and the intelligence of the officers of the Argentine army. The troops whom I witnessed maneuvering had been trained for less than five months. They had attained to a really astonishing degree of proficiency—a proficiency which showed both bodily vigor and alert mental aptitude. An ex-French officer who was present remarked to me that only a very intelligent nation could furnish recruits able to learn so much in so short a time. I was informed that there was very little difficulty in disciplining them, because, as one officer expressed it to me, the men obeyed from conviction and devotion, so that there was scant occasion for harshness.

I examined a number of the men in the infantry regiment. It was a regiment drawn from various districts outside of the city of Buenos Aires. The men followed different occupations: they were machinists, carpenters, millers, ranchmen, and hired farm hands. Some of them were of Italian parentage, more of them of the old Spanish-Argentine stock, while two or three were of German parentage, and several showed that they had a strong touch of Indian blood. There was a percentage of blond-haired men among them, but, of course, smaller than would be the case among United States troops, and somewhat smaller than was the case among the officers. They were well set up, stout, active-looking fellows, with resolute and intelligent faces.

The proficiency of the artillerymen and cavalrymen was noteworthy. All the cavalry were armed with the lance, and, as this is much the most difficult weapon to master, it was really astounding to see how proficient the troopers had become in its use after only some four months' work. It was a rainy day, and the water-soaked ground was a slippery bog, in which the horses continually fell. But the men were excellent riders, and did not in the least mind their horses falling. One interesting thing they did was to sing patriotic and military songs as the regiment marched past. As for the officers, they were as soldierly and workmanlike a set as any one could wish to see. We saw a couple of biplanes and one monoplane in action under military aviators. These men, and the cavalry and artillery officers, were all a credit to their profession. The Argentines have a right to feel pride, satisfaction, and trust in their army.

Among the officers I met sons of Frenchmen, Englishmen, Irishmen, Italians, and Germans, mixed with the officers of either pure Spanish or part Spanish and part Indian descent. But they were all Argentines and nothing else.

In this respect, as in so many other respects, they resembled our own people. I visited the Military Club at Buenos Aires to present a bronze replica of Borglum's statue of General Sheridan. In speaking to the officers I alluded to the fact that so many of them were of foreign parentage, and pointed out that the same thing was true in our own country; that, for instance, our greatest admiral, Farragut, was the son of a Spanish father; that among the officers who served under him and rose afterwards to be admirals in addition to the many men of old Revolutionary or native American stock, there were the sons of German, English, and Italian fathers; that some of the most typical Americans we ever had were descendants of Frenchmen; that the great general who was commemorated by the bronze I presented to them was of Irish parentage, and the sculptor of the bronze was of Scandinavian parentage. I added that these men and those like them were Americans and nothing else; and that the Argentine nationality was a new nationality, different from all others, and absorbing into it all immigrants who came to the country, precisely as in the United States the American nationality was a new nationality, into which all immigrants became merged, and where the national type was already fixed.

Altogether, I was not only pleased with but impressed by what I saw of the Argentine army. It is a well-trained and gallant body of men, and I have no doubt that on the field it would do first-class work. The officers, by the way, played polo. This year an Argentine rifle team came to the United States and won the world's championship. Some day I hope we shall see an Argentine officers' team come to the United States and play polo against some of our army teams.

The Argentine shares one piece of good fortune with the United States. Its great military hero was a man who to his military reputation added the indispensable virtue of civic disinterestedness. San Martin was the Argentine general who in the war for independence not only liberated the Argentine, but marched across the Andes to the rescue of Chile and Peru. Unfortunately, too many Latin-American military leaders of the past

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have made their military service on behalf of freedom the means of gratifying their own civil ambition at the expense of freedom. San Martin was a sincere and disinterested friend—almost too disinterested a friend—of what he esteemed to be the new spirits of liberty and of South American nationality. He showed Washington's ability in the field, and Washington's disinterestedness, although he did not have that power of impressing himself upon his countrymen which enabled Washington, after having given his countrymen liberty, to gather them behind him in securing the unity and the order without which the liberty would have been of so little worth.

A marked feature in the modern Argentine character is the love of healthy outdoor sport. This takes many forms. There is a beautiful race-course, and at the great race-meetings the lookers-on afford the same brilliant spectacle that is afforded by the people of fashion in London and Paris at similar meetings. Unquestionably, those connected with racing in the Argentine have done much to develop the breeding of first-rate horses. I was rather amused to find that not a few of my hosts both already knew and sympathized with the fact that I disliked and disapproved the gambling that seems to be an inseparable feature of horse-racing on a great scale.

There is, however, in the neighborhood of Buenos Aires a space where sport in a most attractive form is carried on without any such attendant drawback. Some twenty miles from Buenos Aires, in a flat covered with trees and dotted with pleasant cottages, there are some sluggish streams, part of the delta of the Plate. On these there has gradually been built up a boating center with which there is nothing in the United States, or, as far as I know, on the continent of Europe, to be compared. It comes second only to Henley. At New London and at Poughkeepsie, and now and then at other places in our country, on some one day of the year there will be a great spectacle, when on yachts, steamers, and observation trains tens of thousands of observers gather to see the college eights compete for mastery. But in each case the spectacle is for a day only. At the Tigre, so called from the name of the stream on which the racing occurs, there are half a dozen important boat-houses and club-houses of as many different rowing clubs. There are very attractive cottages and villas, there are all kinds of less important buildings—inns, public boat-houses, small private boat-houses—so that every one, according to the size of his or her purse, can get enjoyment out of the place all the time, and out of the sports whenever the sports occur. I was taken out to see one of the regattas, and steamed down one of the side streams, and then down the race-course, afterwards witnessing from a big, picturesquely built club-house the finish of one of the races, in which a Buenos Aires pair-oar beat a Montevideo pair-oar. On each side the entire length of the course was lined with boats of every description: steam-launches; trim lapstreaks in which two or three men in flannels were rowing two or three girls and a chaperon; big, battered craft rowed by professionals, and crammed full of holiday seekers enjoying themselves at so much a head; outrigger boats with crews of strongly built, clean-cut-looking young fellows, themselves possible competitors in some future race. The women were in costumes both pretty and appropriate. The men were in boating flannels. All made a most attractive spectacle, and gave one an idea of how rapidly the pleasant side of life is being developed in this great city of the south. As always in Buenos Aires, the mixture of races was evident. The president of the sports on that particular day was by birth a German and a representative of the Teutonia Rowing Club. Another club was composed chiefly of Italians, and another of Scandinavians. In yet another the English predominated. Nevertheless, the whole tone of the sports has already become Argentine, and will become entirely such in a very short while. I saw Argentine crews, just as I saw Argentine boxers and football teams, rifle teams and polo teams, and all were doing first-rate work in a thoroughly sporting spirit.

Moreover, in the different schools all kinds of calisthenics and gymnastic exercises are followed. I was taken out to a lunch at the Sociedad Sportiva Argentina especially to see exercises and sports participated in by several thousands of school-children, many of whom had come from the city of Rosario, two or three hundred miles away. It reminded me of what I had seen the previous spring in Central Park at the big meeting of the Athletic League of the New York schools. It was all merely another evidence of the way in which the people of the Argentine and we ourselves are trying to solve the same problems along similar lines.

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HOW ONE THOUSAND WORKINGMEN SPEND THEIR SPARE TIME

BY CHARLES STELZLE

THE RESULTS OF AN INVESTIGATION MADE BY GEORGE E. BEVANS[1]

IT is what a man does when he is free to do as he pleases that shows what kind of a man he is. According to this test of character, the study of how one thousand and odd workingmen spend their spare time reveals in a most striking manner the moral and social tendencies of the typical artisan and laborer in the big cities of the United States.

Here is the general classification of the men who were "investigated:"

There were 29 different nationalities; 164 different trades and occupations; 29.9 per cent were trade-unionists; 64 per cent were married; 26.1 per cent were Protestant, 36.2 per cent Catholic, 39.5 per cent Jewish, 42 per cent making no religious profession (although these were probably either Catholic or Protestant nominally); 36 per cent worked from 8 to 9 hours per day, 31 per cent from 9 to 10, 17 per cent from 10 to 11, and 16 per cent 11 hours per day and over; 25 per cent were from 17 to 24 years of age, 41 per cent from 25 to 35, 23 per cent from 36 to 45, and 11 per cent 46 years and over; 8 per cent earned under $10 per week, 22 per cent from $10 to $15, 38 per cent from $15 to $20, 14 per cent from $20 to $25, 6 per cent from $25 to $30, 5 per cent from $30 to $35, and 4 per cent earned $35 and over.

It will readily be seen that the thousand men are fairly well distributed among the various groups. Every type of workingman that one finds in the city is included, so that the conclusions and inferences drawn from this study must be fairly accurate and reliable. Practically all of the workingmen studied live in New York City. This accounts for the comparatively large number of Russians in the tabulations. These Russians are nearly all Jews; but the fact that the Jews, Catholics, and Protestants are fairly equal in number makes the comparison more interesting, and really more typical of workingmen as a class than if the thousand men were more strongly Protestant or Catholic, as is ordinarily the case in the average community.

There is one thing that stands out at once in this investigation: namely, the popularity of the motion-picture show. About 60 per cent of all the men patronize the movies, although there are some very clear-cut differences between the various types of men under consideration; for example, those who work the longest hours spend most time at the picture shows. In general, this form of recreation is most popular with those classified under domestic and personal service, clerical, transportation, merchants and dealers, and metal trades. Single men show a slightly larger percentage in the number who patronize these shows, but men between the ages of 25 and 35 go to the movies most frequently. They are most popular among American-born workmen. It is also of interest to note that the men who receive $10 per week or less go oftenest, although they do not spend as much money in motion-picture shows as do those who earn more; they probably go to the five-cent shows. There is no doubt that the motion-picture show is America's most popular form of recreation. It has hit the saloon as has no other agency. But, frankly, it hasn't quite put the saloon out of business, as this study shows that the saloon is an important factor in the recreational life of workingmen.

About 30 per cent of the men patronize the saloon—although no doubt many more actually use intoxicating liquor—as against 60 per cent who go to the movies. But here is another remarkable revelation: the longer hours a man works, the more time and money he spends at the saloon.

The study proves untrue the oft-repeated statement that shorter working hours afford more leisure time for men to dissipate and make themselves less fit for labor. Long hours, causing over-fatigue, seem to so lower

[1] This study was made by Mr. Bevans during his candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Columbia University. The answers to a carefully prepared series of questions were secured through personal interviews. In tabulating the returns the men were classified according to hours of labor, occupations, marital relations, age, nationality, and wages.

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the vitality of the workingman that at the end of the day's work he naturally gravitates toward the saloon.

Students of the liquor problem have often referred to the saloon as "the poor man's club." Justification of this is found in the fact that, although the actual percentage of men who go to the saloon in the 11 hour and over group is smaller than in the shorter hour group, yet the number of hours spent, the number of visits made, and the amount of money expended by these men at the saloon are far greater than for the men who work a lesser number of hours. Usually the men who work longer hours but do not go to the saloon have a tendency to indulge in dissipation in some other form unless they are so fatigued that they have no social life.

The saloon is patronized most frequently by the transportation group, made up largely of teamsters. Of the total number in this group 56.9 per cent go to the saloon; these being followed by the building trades with 41.8 per cent, the metal trades with 46.7 per cent, domestic and personal service 38.8 per cent, merchants and dealers 36.6 per cent. However, when it comes to actual time spent in the saloon, the order is somewhat changed, as follows: transportation, domestic and personal service, metal trades, building trades, merchants and dealers.

It is astonishing to discover that of these 1,000 men the married men patronize the saloon more frequently than do the unmarried men. Here is an interesting phenomenon for the moralist and the psychologist, to say nothing about the sociologist. With this in mind, it is not strange that the ages at which the saloon is most popular are the years between 36 and 45, the dull, drab years of middle age, when the idealism of the former days no longer sways the emotions. The men from Great Britain head the nationality group in saloon patronage with 57.6 per cent. These are followed by the Germans with 49.3 per cent, the Italians with 30.3 per cent, the Austro-Hungarians with 26.7 per cent, the Americans with 26.2 per cent. About half the men stated that they drink intoxicating liquor at the noon hour, and 14.6 per cent do so before going to work.

When it comes to the actual expenditure of money for all recreational and benevolent purposes, including motion pictures and theaters, beer and wine and whisky, chewing and smoking tobacco, cigars and cigarettes, personal and family contributions to church, self and family life insurance, the expenditure for beer, wine, and whisky easily leads with an average of about 35 per cent of the total amount spent for all purposes, the 11 hour and over men being in the forefront with 39.1 per cent. This does not mean that the latter group actually spends more money than the others for intoxicants, but that they spend a greater proportion of their "spare cash" for liquor.

It appears that the men who work the longest hours go to church most frequently, although the actual time spent at church services is greater among the 9 to 10 and 10 to 11 hour groups. It seems that the church has a weak grip on the men who work the shortest number of hours—presumably the highest grade workers. Here is another puzzle for the sociologist to work out, because we have been told that workingmen do not go to church because they haven't the time—that if they had a Saturday half-holiday, for example, they would be found in the churches on Sunday. Incidentally, the church is confronted by the fact that its greatest problem, so far as church interest is concerned, is not the "down-trodden" workingman, but the strong, independent toiler who is making his way toward the top. The church must study the peculiar problems of the typical American workingman who feels the power which citizenship in a democracy such as ours gives. Married men go to church more frequently than do single men. It is also clear that the older a man becomes, the more interest he takes in religious affairs. The lowest percentage of interest in the church is found among the men between the ages of 17 to 24, and the highest percentage in the group 46 years of age and over, the latter excelling in this particular by nearly 100 per cent in the number who attend church and in the amount of spare time spent at church services. This confirms a very extensive experience of the writer in every part of the United States—the young men of this country are least interested in church services and religious meetings. In point of nationality, the Germans attend church most frequently. Then come the Austro-Hungarians, the subjects of Great Britain, the Italians, and the Americans. Contributions for the support of the church come most largely from men who work from 10 to 11 hours per day, although the 11 hour and over group give more in

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proportion to their income than do either the 8 to 9 or 9 to 10 hour groups.

It has already been stated that 29.9 per cent of the men are members of trade unions. Naturally, the largest percentage of these are found in the 8 to 9 hour group, the number steadily decreasing as the hours of labor increase. The men in the building trades are most highly organized. These are closely followed by the metal trades and the textile workers. The number of married men in the labor organizations is 100 per cent greater than among single men, and there are three times as many trade-unionists among the workers 46 years of age and over as there are among the group 17 to 24 years of age, and twice as many as there are in the group from 25 to 35 years of age. The Germans go in for organization most largely. These are followed by the men from Great Britain, Russia, America, Italy, Austria-Hungary. Not one man in the group earning $10 per week or less is a member of the labor union. Those who earn from $25 to $30 per week are most highly organized.

The amount of spare time these workmen spend with their families brings out some suggestive ideas. It appears, at first sight, that it is the men who work the longest hours who win out here. But this is due to the fact that this type has few legitimate recreations which take them out for an entire evening, as, for example, for lecture courses, concerts, art galleries, etc. Naturally, when other possible sources of recreational life are eliminated, it raises the percentage of time spent with the family as compared with time spent in other ways, although the actual time spent with the family at home by the long-hour group may be less than that spent in this manner by the men who work shorter hours. The men who work shorter hours no doubt take their families with them when they go to places of amusement and recreation. This naturally takes them away from home, but it does not take them away from their families. This is borne out by the figures given for the wage groups, for here it is plainly shown that as a man's wages increase the more time he spends with his family. There is a continuous development in this respect in the seven divisions made among the wage groups.

The difference in time spent with families between the $10 and under and the $35 and over groups is about 50 per cent in favor of the higher wage group. It goes without saying that married men spend more time with their families than single men—100 per cent more time, according to the statistics; but in the age groups those between 36 and 45 spend most time with their families. It is shown that Germans are the greatest home-loving people and Americans the least.

Clubs and lodges occupy much of the time and attention of these one thousand workingmen. The men who work the shortest hours are most generally attracted by such organizations. While about twice as many 8 hour men belong to them as do the 11 and over hour men, the 8 hour men devote four times as much time in their meetings. Interest in clubs and lodges is almos evenly divided between married and single men, although in the amount of time spent the single men lead slightly. It is apparent that the ages at which clubs and lodges appeal most are between 17 and 24, and 46 years of age and over. Probably the younger men are most attracted by clubs of various kinds and the older men by lodges. In point of nationality the figures are quite uniform, and a study of the wage groups shows that, while not so many of the lower-paid men belong to these organizations, their percentage of attendance equals that of many of the higher-paid wage-workers. They probably attend lodges and clubs 50 per cent more than do the latter; no doubt because, in the first place, it is a cheap form of insurance, and because it gives them a bit of recreation at practically no further cost than that already contributed for the insurance benefits.

Reading newspapers occupies a larger percentage of spare time than does any other single feature. Of the 8 to 9 hour group, 96.2 per cent read newspapers; of the 9 to 10 hour group, 93.3 per cent; of the 10 to 11 hour group, 92.1 per cent; of the 11 hour and over group, 78.7 per cent. But while more men of the 8 hour group read newspapers, the 11 hour and over group spend slightly more time in this way. Those engaged in domestic and personal service are lowest in amount of time spent in reading newspapers. Married men spend more time reading newspapers than do single men, although a larger proportion of young men between 17 and 24 read newspapers than do any other age group. While the American-born lead slightly in the number of newspaper readers, the foreign-born are not very much behind either in numbers or time spent. The only 100

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per cent in any particular in this study is found in the group earning from $30 to $35 per week—every one of these reads newspapers; but those who spend most time reading newspapers in the wage groups are those earning from $15 to $35, the highest percentage being found in the group earning from $20 to $25.

Magazines are read chiefly by the 8 to 9 hour group, those employed as clerks, those who are single and those between the ages of 17 and 24, those who are American born, and the higher wage groups. It is worth while noting that there are only one-third as many men who read magazines in the 8 to 9 hour group as there are those who read newspapers, and that the men who do read newspapers spend eight times as much time reading them as the men in the magazine-reading group spend in reading magazines. In the $35 per week and over group more than twice as many men read newspapers as read magazines, and they spend four times as much time reading them.

Books are read by fully twice as many of the 8 to 9 hour group as by the 11 hour and over group. They are read chiefly by clerks, and least of all by those engaged in transportation and domestic and personal service. They are read twice as much by single men as by married men, and chiefly by men between 17 and 24—about twice as many by this group as any other group. The men from Great Britain rank lowest in this particular. It is striking that while men who work the shortest hours have more book readers, the men who earn $10 and under spend more time reading books than do any other group. This undoubtedly means that there are some men in the low-wage group who are struggling for a better education, and fighting hard for it during the night hours. This is brought out in the inquiry regarding time spent in private study. While a considerable number of short-hour men are taking special courses, the 10 to 11 hour men are studying hardest and longest. Three times as many single men are taking special courses of study as married men, and more than six times as many between the ages of 17 and 24 as there are in the group of 46 and over. The actual time spent by the younger group in private study is 15 times as great as it is in the case of the older group. But the Italians and the Russians excel in time spent in private study, the Americans coming in a close third. The $10 and under group spend most time in private study, those lowest in the scale in the wage group being those who earn from $25 to $30.

Night school is attended most largely by the men in the 9 to 10 hour group, about 10 per cent of the total number in this group going to school, the metal-trade workers leading, and those of Russian birth. Those who earn less than $10 per week lead every other group by over 100 per cent, and those who earn $25 to $30 are beaten 1,200 per cent by the small-wage group. Public lectures are attended six times as often by the men who work 8 to 9 hours per day as they are by those who work 11 hours and over, and mostly by the clerical group, by single men, by those between 17 and 24 years of age, by Germans, Americans coming next, and by those who earn between $20 and $25, although the amount of wages received does not appear to influence much in this respect. Art galleries are least popular, among workingmen, of any form of recreational life, although they are visited by the 8 to 9 hour group twelve times as often as they are by the 11 hour and over group, twice as much by the professional group as by any other, three times as often by single as compared with married men, 50 per cent oftener by those between 17 and 24 years of age as compared with any other age group, chiefly by Germans, Italians, and Russians, and by those who earn between $20 and $35 per week.

Public libraries are most popular with the 9 to 10 hour men, with the clerical group, with single men, with those between 17 and 24 years old, with Russians, Americans following, and with the $10 and under and the $30 to $35 groups. Theaters are patronized principally by 8 to 9 hour workers. It is significant that the use of the theaters by the various hour groups gradually decreases as the hours of labor increase, whereas the use of the motion-picture show gradually increases as the hours of labor increase. The theater is popular with men of all occupations, although the clerical group leads, closely followed by the professional men. Single men exceed married men about three times over, and the greatest amount of time is spent at the theater by those between 17 and 24, the Americans and those who receive higher wages leading by a good margin. Dancing is twice as popular with the 8 to 9 hour men as with any other group; it is practiced chiefly by the clerical group, it is a

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dozen times as popular with single men as with those who are married, thirty times as much with men between 17 and 24 as with those over 45 years of age, although only three times as popular with the 17 to 24 year group as it is with the 25 to 35 year group. The Americans lead safely, with the Italians coming second, and the $10 and under group win the prize for ball-room recreation.

Pool-room habitués are found chiefly in the short-hour group, although the long-hour men spend most time there when they do go. Transportation employees patronize pool-rooms most, but those engaged in domestic and personal service remain longer hours. Single men lose interest in pool-playing as their hours of labor increase, while married men increase the time spent in this form of recreation as their hours of labor are lengthened. But, generally stated, pool-playing is a young man's game; it is most popular with Americans, and with the $10 and under group. Cards are played mostly by the men who work longer hours, by merchants and dealers and those engaged in domestic and personal service, by married men, by older men, by Austro-Hungarians and Italians, but, strangely enough, by men who receive the higher rates of wages.

Time spent with friends looms large in the distribution of spare time. It ranks next to time spent with families and newspapers with every hour group, and reveals the strong social spirit existing among the workers. The average of time spent is pretty evenly distributed among men of various occupations, but single men spend nearly twice as much time with friends as do married men. Friendship is more generally the gift of the younger men, although it is not monopolized by any particular nationality group. However, the Americans spend most time with their friends, but the men who earn $10 and under depend more upon friends for their social life than do any other wage group.

It is evident from a comparison of the hour groups that the men who work a lesser number of hours per day use their spare time more wisely and more uniformly than do men in the longer-hour groups. The answer to the objection that if the eleven hour and over group of men were placed at eight to nine hour work they would continue to spend their spare time in the same manner as they now do is found in the striking uniformity of the ways in which these one thousand workingmen—of all different hours of labor—usually spend their time on Sundays, the only general leisure day.

This study would indicate that to give workingmen an equal number of hours of leisure would tend to establish a uniform standard for spending spare time, regardless of the amount of wages received.

COMMERCE AND FINANCE

A WEEKLY ARTICLE BY THEODORE H. PRICE

NOTES UPON THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WORLD'S AFFAIRS

"The time has come when all fair-minded men and investors as a whole must individually and collectively impress on State and Federal Senators, Representatives, and Government that they are a part of the Nation, entitled to at least fair consideration."

—President Rea, of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

"THE Government's Attitude" is a factor invariably mentioned and most dwelt upon in any discussion of business conditions in this country. We do not hear these words used with respect to Germany, England, France, or even Canada. They seem peculiar to the United States. Yet this Nation was called into being less than one hundred and fifty years ago by an insistence upon individual liberty. It is to-day governed by that party which has always claimed to stand pre-eminently for this basic principle of individual liberty, but never in its history has our people been so entirely dependent upon the *ipse dixit* of elected or appointed officials in the exercise of the rights for which our forefathers fought.

The preamble to our Constitution recites that it was ordained, among other purposes,

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to "establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty."

In aid of these fundamental purposes the Federal Government was expressly granted certain powers, among them the power to regulate commerce—a power which, if exercised beyond its appropriate and contemplated limits, might nullify and subvert the purpose underlying the adoption of the Constitution.

That the power to "regulate" does not imply the power to destroy is a truth that seems to be dawning upon the intelligence of the people and gradually impressing itself upon the minds of their servants at Washington. When talking the other day with a gentleman high in the political councils of the Democratic party, I pointed out the injury that was being done to the business and credit of corporations, particularly the railways, by the action or inaction of the various agencies of the Government, and asked him whether it was the desire of the Democratic party to destroy utterly the value hitherto inhering in the securities of these corporations, now owned by millions of people.

He replied that the policy of the Administration was to interpret public sentiment conservatively, and that thus far there was no audible protest against the course pursued from even a small minority of the real parties in interest, namely, the security-holders.

"If," said he, "the millions of stockholders about whom you talk are really being injured by what this Administration is doing, why don't we hear from *them?* We believe that this is a government by the people and for the people, and our ears are also close to the ground, but thus far the only complaint we hear is from gentlemen of opulent appearance and arrogant manner who come to Washington in private cars with a retinue of lawyers and demand that we shall accept their interpretation of the laws. When we inquire as to their right to represent the stockholders in the corporation of which they are officers, we find that for the most part they have been elected by directors who are Wall Street bankers, and that these directors have been chosen in turn by self-appointed voting trustees or self-solicited proxies." He concluded by saying: "This is a Democratic Government and it intends to be responsive to the legitimate demands of democratized finance, business, and corporate management. If there are any considerable number of shareholders who are being injured by the enforcement of existing laws, the remedy is in their own hands. *Let us hear from them.* Get them to come to Washington or write us. Their views will not be unheeded. Up to date they have been silent, and it is difficult for us to believe that the grievances alleged in their behalf are real."

The statement is repeated from memory with substantial though not with literal accuracy.

The interview was not with the Attorney-General or any one in his Department.

I have quoted it at length because it seems to emphasize the two things necessary to a better understanding between "Big Business" and the Government. One is that the officers of our great corporations shall have less facility in "the gentle art of making enemies," less aloofness from the public and their stockholders, and increased willingness and ability to democratize their methods and themselves.

Not long ago it was easier to reach the President of the United States than a railway executive, and the latter felt free to vent his spleen on occasions by damning Washington and the public. With the change in the times there has been a marked change in the attitude of those in control of large business toward Government officials and the public. But the relations between the stockholders and the managements of our large corporations remain as distant as heretofore. The stockholders receive dividends when the earnings justify their payment and the directors conceive it expedient to pay them; they receive an annual report more or less complete and intelligible, according to the disposition of the management, and a proxy running in favor of the nominees of the management. The intercourse between the stockholders and the management ceases here, for in relatively few instances is the small stockholder made to feel that his criticism, suggestions, or even inquiries about his corporation's business will be welcome. For this feeling on the part of the stockholders, and a consequent diffidence about expressing themselves, the managements of our corporations are distinctly to blame.

On the other hand, it is necessary that the stockholders of our great corporations should be less supine in the face of conditions which threaten to destroy the earning power and value of the properties of which they are the owners.

The inertness of American shareholders whose interests are attacked or mismanaged

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is remarkable. Stockholders' meetings are but poorly attended. The reports of officers are not read. Proxies are carelessly signed, and it is with the greatest difficulty that support can be obtained for any movement that calls for the independent exercise of the rights that are so carefully safeguarded under our laws.

The Pennsylvania Railroad has over ninety thousand stockholders. The President, Mr. Samuel Rea, has recently addressed them as follows:

> No serious public consideration is at present being given to the investors who have furnished the capital for all the railroads, and thereby provided the most substantial foundations for the past and present progress of the country, and without the prosperity of the railroads the country cannot prosper.
>
> What is the present situation? The railroads are prevented from charging reasonable rates; they have sustained a serious loss in revenues; they are prevented from furnishing facilities so as to be prepared to meet the reasonable transportation needs; every occasion is being used to publicly discredit them; and the result is that there must be enforced economies. If large numbers of railroad men and others depending on railroads for every character of supplies and work are out of employment, and a general loss of confidence exists, and suspicion has been engendered, no attempt must be made to place this responsibility upon the railroad management. They have issued warnings and made petitions for fair dealing, but without effect. The time has come when all fair-minded men and investors as a whole must individually and collectively impress on State and Federal Senators, Representatives, and Government that they are a part of the Nation, entitled to at least fair consideration.
>
> This statement is not made to predict calamity, but it is made to prevent calamity, and because heretofore we have used our efforts to influence investors from asserting their rights; but we will no longer occupy that position while every other interest in this country petitions for their own special welfare, and is having the benefits of legislative protection.

This statement is most timely, and its suggestion, quoted at the head of this paragraph, is one that should immediately be acted upon by the holders of railway securities in person or by letters to their respective Senators and Representatives and to the Chairman of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, protesting against a course of action that has so seriously impaired and threatens, if persisted in, to destroy their investments.

It is estimated that the 300,000 corporations of this country are owned by not less than five million stockholders. Some of these are women, others are foreigners; but very likely not less than 4,000,000 of them can vote. In addition to this large number of security-holders, there is the multitude of indirect investors—the savings bank depositors and beneficiaries of the life insurance companies.

The organized and united protest of these security-holders would surely not be unheeded by a party whose leader was elected by a minority of 6,293,019 out of a total of 15,036,544 votes cast for all candidates at the last Presidential election.

The party in power should not forget these figures, and it is well that they be remembered also by those who have an economic stake in the country.

Canadian finance is being subjected to a severe strain just now. The situation is romantic in many of its aspects. Some years ago, William Mackenzie and Donald Mann, both of whom have since been knighted, had a vision of a new empire over which they could acquire dominion by building the Canadian Northern Railway from Halifax on the Atlantic to a northerly port on the Pacific. A branch to connect the system with Port Churchill on Hudson Bay was projected, but has not been built. With the exception of the Trans-Siberian Railway, constructed by the Russian Government, the Canadian Northern is the longest railway that has ever been planned as a single enterprise. There are larger systems in America, but they are consolidations of various other lines separately built. The route projected leads across the northern wilds of Canada, until recently uninhabited, and by some thought to be almost uninhabitable, at least in winter.

Nevertheless the scheme appealed to the imagination of the people, and Mackenzie and Mann were able until recently to get the Canadian Government to lend them its credit in obtaining the money necessary for construction.

Sometimes the Dominion issued its own bonds and sometimes it guaranteed the bonds of the railway, but in one way or another the flow of gold was maintained and the work went on.

Much graft and corruption is said to have been incidental to the procurement of the Parliamentary aid given, but of this nothing is definitely known. The construction, which has proceeded from the Pacific eastward and

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the Atlantic westward, has progressed so far that the two ends will be connected when a comparatively short line across the Rocky Mountains is completed. This, however, is the most expensive part of the entire system, its cost being estimated at $50,000,000, while another $50,000,000 will be required for equipment.

Until lately it had been supposed that the Canadian Government would continue its financial assistance, but the recent failure of a Canadian loan in London and the speculative collapse across the border have chilled the hitherto generous disposition of Parliament, and there seems to be grave doubt whether further aid will be forthcoming.

All Canada is in suspense over the outcome. Some reports attribute the present disfavor of Mackenzie and Mann to resentment against the immense fortunes they are supposed to have made. Others suggest that the Canadian Pacific Railway has been working to destroy a competing line which would diminish its business and profit.

Probably the truth is that with the collapse of the Canadian boom the sober sense of the people has returned, and they realize that a population of less than eight millions can hardly support three transcontinental railways, since the United States with a population twelve times as large has use for but six. In the matter of railway control Canada seems likely to anticipate us, and the latest reports indicate the early adoption of a bill which will give to the Dominion Railway Commission complete control over all further issues of railway securities.

The Brazilian Collapse is also romantic in that it, too, is the rude awakening from a dream of empire. Ever since the days of Pizarro and John Law the military or financial conquest of the half-civilized countries of the Western Hemisphere has appealed irresistibly to the imagination of bold men. Those who succeed are called geniuses; those who fail become known to fame as adventurers.

Just as the northern wilds of Canada attracted Mackenzie and Mann and Lord Strathcona, so Brazil and Argentina have, in our own time, called to Lord Revelstoke, Farquhar, and Pearson. The panic of 1893 and the embarrassment of Baring Brothers was due to the over-development of Argentina, and a crisis now threatens in Brazil because of the premature exploitation of that country. Few people realize the enormous sums that have been raised in London and Paris and spent in Brazil during the past few years. The seaports of Rio de Janeiro and Pará and the harbor of Manaos, nearly one thousand miles up the Amazon, have been equipped with docks, street railways, and other public utilities costing hundreds of millions in the aggregate.

A trans-Andean railway that will connect the head-waters of the Amazon with the Pacific coast is now in process of construction, and along the whole length of the river there are wireless telegraph stations. The high prices which formerly prevailed for rubber and coffee created an illusion of wealth, and when coffee declined the Brazilian Government used its credit to corner it, euphemistically calling the operation "valorization." All of this was done on borrowed money.

The growth of the country for many years was forestalled, an enormous annual liability for interest was created, and now that rubber and coffee are very low in price, Brazil has nothing to pay with, and general bankruptcy is impending. Stocks in Brazilian enterprises that sold in London well above par in 1911 are now quoted at twenty-five or lower, and many fortunes have been entirely lost. The financial *débâcle* has been followed by an attempt at political revolution, and Rio de Janeiro was recently under martial law. The recovery is destined to be slow, and the European capital which has been invested is in many cases irreclaimably lost.

The Financial and Commercial Outlook in the United States has become a little more cheerful.

There is an abundance of money in the reservoirs of credit, and securities whose earning power is undoubted will probably be in demand for the employment of that money.

The staple necessaries of life will also have to be supplied to one hundred million people, and this in itself is a large business.

It does not seem likely, however, that the stimulus of speculation or extravagance is to be felt immediately in any direction, and people who buy securities on borrowed money, or purchase more goods than they need for the immediate future, may be disappointed.

If the Inter-State Commerce Commission grants the entire five per cent advance in freight rates for which the railways have asked, a fillip will doubtless be given to the stock market. The importance of the matter has, however, been exaggerated. The railways asking for the advance are those in the territory east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio River.

The gross annual revenue of these roads,

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including passenger traffic, is about $1,400,000,000, out of a total of of $3,000,000,000 for all the railways of the United States.

A five per cent advance on their freight earnings would add about $50,000,000 a year to their gross receipts, of which not more than $40,000,000 could possibly be added to net income. There is small chance of any advance in rates in the South or west of the Mississippi.

The exigent pleading of the railway officers has made the question of freight rates seem pre-eminently important. It is important, but not basic. Of far greater weight is the declaration of Dr. Van Hise that the Sherman Law "destroys conservation, wastes natural resources, and produces a profoundly immoral situation."

Dr. Van Hise is the President of the University of Wisconsin, an institution that has profoundly affected political opinion in the Middle West.

That the leader of this school should now proclaim the economic absurdity of a law that can be invoked to make co-operation impossible is, in my opinion, far more important and fundamental than an advance in freight rates that will add a possible $40,000,000 to the net earnings of our railways.

In my survey of conditions I have adverted to the crises in Canada and Brazil because Americans are likely to disregard the financial solidarity of the world to-day and forget that "the injury of one is the concern of all." There are a great many other weak spots outside of the United States. A foreign banker told me the other day that the conditions in Paris were especially distressing but had thus far been successfully concealed. It is difficult for us to take a serious view of the row about Home Rule in Ireland, but the directors of the Bank of England are sufficiently concerned over it to have warned the British Cabinet that civil turmoil in Ireland will have a very serious effect upon the financial position of Great Britain. In the Balkans and in Italy the serious losses of war have to be repaired, and in Australia the fiscal debauches of the Labor party have been followed by great financial lassitude and a general impairment of credit.

Throughout the world people have gone in debt to hasten the coming of a glorious future made possible by the application of science and invention: the dream will become a reality, but not as quickly as many had hoped, and meantime it will be difficult to revive faith in new visions until the losses caused by the illusions of the past have been recovered through the painful process of economy.

Selling Bonds Directly to the Public. My attention has been called to the fact that in about thirty days the Treasurer of Massachusetts has succeeded in disposing of the entire issue of $6,325,000 State bonds offered by him directly to the public. I was therefore premature in saying in The Outlook of March 7 that the sale could hardly be regarded as a success. It is proper to explain that the statement referred to was written about the 25th of February, when less than half the issue had been sold and when grave doubt was felt as to whether the remainder could be marketed without the intervention of bankers. Although the sale of a bond issue of $6,000,000 in thirty days would not usually be regarded as an overwhelming success, I am glad to know that it has been disposed of, and congratulate Treasurer Mansfield. Nevertheless, I am still of the opinion that the intervention of bankers is necessary to secure prompt action on the part of the investment public in the purchase of even the best securities. New York sold $51,000,000 of its State bonds in one day because bankers were invited to buy them and did buy them. Massachusetts' sale of $6,000,000 in thirty days is not in comparison an especially brilliant operation.

Mr. Charles Merrill, of Randolph, New York, writes The Outlook upon this subject as follows:

> I think the issuing of bonds in small amounts by municipalities, States, and Nation is a wise course. It would give small investors the opportunity to purchase safe investments, and would have a tendency to overcome to a greater or less extent the Socialists, Anarchists, and others who are not interested in a stable form of government. When people have a financial interest in any property they are very loth to destroy or injure it by any unlawful act.

I agree with Mr. Merrill that if small investors would act without financial leadership it would be far better to have them do so. Thus far, however, except in rare instances, it has been impossible to secure such spontaneous action.

Erratum. Through an oversight in my article in The Outlook of March 21 an error was made in the total railway mileage of the United States. It is 244,179, not including 117,000 miles of additional main track and sidings, and not 344,179 miles.

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THE SPECTATOR

ON reviewing his last trip abroad, the Spectator finds that it is not in the great and famous places that his memory lingers most fondly, but rather in a few secluded little spots which he discovered for himself. They were mostly churches. His mind has a strong ecclesiastical bent, and he was more impressed with the religious devotion of the lower classes in Italy than with any other manifestation of that magical land. More or less unconsciously, he made a specialty of churches as another tourist made of fountains, and yet another of city gates, and a fourth of gardens; and the connoisseur's *flair* was forever arresting his progress through the streets of city or town. The summons grew familiar, not only to himself, but also to his traveling companions.

"What's the matter with the Spectator? Seems to be uneasy. Must be a church around somewhere."

But the Spectator seldom heard his comrades when they consulted thus, and never replied to them; for by the time they had finished he had followed his lode-star and had vanished within the doors of his church.

Then what a change! Behind the heavy leather curtain the noisy street was shut away as abruptly and completely as a dream, and the blessed silence of eternal things received the grateful sense and spirit. Instead of the glare of the Italian sun were dimness and coolness; a faint haze of incense, flickered through by tall altar lights. Instead of the conflict of many purposes and ideas was the one and only Idea that matters. Instead of the world was heaven.

Puritan as he is, the Spectator always fell on his knees at his entrance into one of these little homes of peace. He could no more have helped it than one can help responding to the touch of a loved hand. He offered up many a Protestant prayer on those Catholic pavements. He was never alone in his worship. Whether a service was going on or not, other people were always kneeling before the altar, lost in supplication. The Spectator liked the sense of kinship in difference which he felt with them. After he had humbled himself and had been received and accepted, he rose and silently studied the church, going the rounds of the chapels on tiptoe, marveling at the beautiful things which he often found hidden away in the shadows. He learned the ways of these little churches by heart. Shy, unambitious, utterly self-contained and single-hearted, they existed as trysting-spots for Heaven and humanity, and the more closely they enfolded their glory the better pleased they were. It was probably an embarrassment to them when now and then Baedeker happened upon them and double-starred them.

The Spectator remembers with tender affection an obscure little church in Naples, and one in Perugia, and several in Rome; but the whole significance of his quest is summed up in the memory of a tiny sanctuary around the corner from his *pension* in Florence. He never knew its name. The most careful ransacking of guide-books failed to yield any hint of its existence. So much the better!

He stumbled upon it by accident—or by his peculiar destiny—late one afternoon, when he was returning through some tortuous side streets. A church! Of course he must go in. In fact, he was half-way up the steps before he knew what he was doing. The hour was that of Benediction; and as the Spectator lifted the curtain a burst of song and a glory of candle-light greeted him. The little place was almost full. Plainly, not to say raggedly, dressed people thronged the wooden benches, the men in working clothes, the women with handkerchiefs over their heads and children clinging to their skirts. In a corner a large white dog, accompanying an old man, sat as still and reverent as any worshiper. The priest was kneeling before the altar, about to take the sacrament in his hands. He was a young man, with a dark, earnest face, and the people showed that they loved him by the way in which they crowded around him. They gave back their responses with a full, triumphant voice. Then, when the priest turned and lifted the sacred symbol above their heads, they prostrated themselves in a thrilling silence. The Spectator had no choice but to prostrate himself too. After the service was over he lingered, feeling his way to the soul of this newly discovered harbor, and finding it uncommonly lovable and true. The next day he came back at the same hour, and all the

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rest of the days that he spent in Florence he never failed to solicit his church's benediction.

It was not a beautiful church. On the contrary, it was homely, and it had touches of the tawdriness that is dear to the Italian laborer. But that was a part of its genuineness, and so of its charm. It was a church for the laborer. It reminded the Spectator of nothing so much as a little white hen, a perfectly ordinary barnyard hen with brooding wings. After all, hens have transcendent uses. "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem!" He came to feel like one of her chickens, running to happy shelter each day.

But nobody else thought him a chicken. No matter how carefully he observed and imitated the gestures and actions of the rest of the brood, no matter how sincerely reverent he was, no matter how faithfully he occupied his chosen bench, he was always aware of a curious scrutiny. The other worshipers knew one another intimately; they seemed to feel themselves members of a big family. This stranger from another land and another faith puzzled them. They were very polite—too polite. The old man who took up the daily collection received the coppers of the parish as a matter of course; but at the Spectator's humble donation he always paused and said, "*Grazie, Signore.*" The Spectator had never before had his feelings hurt by gratitude.

During the weeks before Easter, when the Stations of the Cross were frequently made, he followed from post to post, trying to merge himself in the heterogeneous throng. But he never succeeded. There was always a space about him—the other worshipers pressed closer to make it—and he always found himself on the edge of the group instead of at its heart. The experience was one of the loneliest he had ever had. Only the Church received him without question or comment and made him completely at home.

The latter fact has, however, comforted and encouraged him whenever he has reflected on those hours of isolation in the midst of unity. The Church is bigger and wiser than her children, and she knows the way she takes. She will turn away no one who comes to her, no matter how doubtfully and temporarily. And just as, according to the philosophers, there is an unbroken unity behind the fragmentary evidence of our senses, so it may be that behind all the much-discussed and lamentable discord in the Christian Church there persists a harmony which has really never been disturbed. We wander and experiment and emphasize our differences; but all true followers of Christ must at heart be brothers. The Church, our mother, understands this, whether we do or not.

THE NEW BOOKS

Reconnaissance (The). By Gordon Gardiner. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.35.

A novel of decided power. It begins with a vividly told and tragic military incident, an actual "reconnaissance" by the African Frontier Mounted Police; but when the scene is removed to England the word "reconnaissance" takes on a symbolic sense, and the tense situation changes from the physical to the moral. The "hero," who has saved his comrade in Africa, knows in his own heart that he acted primarily for his own safety and only after a previous moment of cowardice. He wants to let the whole thing be forgotten, but he is constantly pushed to the front, and in the end is forced to accept the Victoria Cross. The stress on his mind and conscience (for he really is a decent fellow, who wants to do right) is extreme, and is complicated by his feelings toward the fine English girl who shares with him the chief character-interest of the book.

There is good story-telling here and sound psychology also. One looks forward to reading other novels from Mr. Gardiner's pen. He may fairly be classed with Mr. A. E. W. Mason and the late Mr. Scott-Merriman in method and style.

Vain Oblations. By Katharine F. Gerould. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.35.

The short stories here included are told with perfection of art and subtlety of method. They have also imagination and invention in abundance.

In subject, however, they plumb the depths of human horror—the title story in particular leaves an impression that haunts one like a tedious nightmare, so poignant is its anguish. Only one can be called even moderately cheer-

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ful, and that is a tale of ghosts with death following in their train. The author's literary achievement and her penetrating analysis of temperament deserve unstinted praise, but we hope her next book will have fewer shudders and more smiles.

Loves of Ambrose (The). By Margaret Vandercook. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.

A romance of Kentucky country life—four times the long, lank Ambrose seeks and finds a mate, and the story tells only of these courting episodes (if the last one, in old age, can so be called), and not of the married life except retrospectively and inferentially. Ambrose has a true heart, and a genuine deference and high regard for women. His story, accordingly, is not ludicrous, but has gentle charm and humor.

Theodore Thornton Munger, New England Minister. By Benjamin Wisner Bacon. Yale University Press, New Haven. $3.

The Outlook has often expressed its appreciation of and admiration for Dr. Theodore T. Munger. It does not need to repeat these expressions here. But it gladly expresses its very hearty appreciation of this biography by his friend Professor Bacon, of Yale Divinity School. This has a special interest because it is the portraiture of a mind essentially poetic etched by a mind essentially analytical. The book might not inaptly be compared to a biography of Plato by Aristotle. Incidentally it is a valuable indorsement of the newer thinking that this is seen to be not the idiosyncrasy of a peculiar class of thinkers, a thinking which appeals only to a peculiar type of mind, but belongs to the age and meets the intellectual and spiritual needs alike of the critic and the creator, of the logician and the prophet. This way of thinking stands the twofold test of the Apostle Paul, "Despise not prophesying, prove all things." The new religious experience—for it is more than a religious philosophy—in this volume is seen as the vision of a seer, tested and approved by the analyst.

The book is interesting as a biography, but it is more than that. It gives the new theology in a vital form as the inspiration of a noble life interpreted by a sympathetic but also a keen-minded historian.

Personality of American Cities (The). By Edward Hungerford. McBride, Nast & Co., New York. $2.

This volume fully meets several of the requirements of a good book: an object, the accomplishment of the object, and good workmanship. The author has succeeded in presenting in single chapters much of the personality of various American towns. Montreal and Toronto are also included. It is not to be expected that within the space of less than three hundred and fifty pages all the important American cities should be treated; but the author plans an additional volume to set forth the Dutch traditions of Albany, the charm of cities like Louisville, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis, the breezy atmosphere of Omaha and Kansas City.

This is in no sense a guide-book. It records the impressions and convictions of a man who has evidently loitered in the places he describes; he has got on the inside, as it were, and now tells the reader, with exactness and touches of humor, what he saw and how he felt. One closes the book with a feeling that some pleasant, profitable hours have been spent in a number of interesting cities, each with a distinct charm of its own. Boston has the initial chapter, followed by New York. "What is the typical New Yorker?" asks the author. "You might almost say that all Americans are typical New Yorkers. For New York is, in no small sense, America. Other towns and cities may publicly scoff her—down in their hearts they slavishly imitate her. . . . They publicly laugh at her—down in their hearts they secretly adore her."

Maximilian in Mexico: 1861–1867. By Percy F. Martin, F.R.G.S. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $5.25.

Was Maximilian of Mexico Napoleon III's dupe? That will always be a question. Clever as it is, Mr. Martin's book does not altogether answer the query. Maximilian may have thought at first that all Mexico wanted him as Emperor, but he could not have been in Mexico very long without realizing that most of the people did not want him. Napoleon III may have thought at first that Maximilian would make a good Emperor, that Mexico ought to have an Emperor, and that French intervention in Mexico would be a promising adventure, but he could not have had much experience during the years between 1861 and 1867 without seeing that the affair was costing dear enough in lives and money. A realization, though late, of the real conditions in Mexico must have come to both men, but especially to the unfortunate Maximilian. "As well," to use Mr. Martin's words, "have set up a timid mouse to rule over a kingdom of Kilkenny cats." This dictum may also be realized in this very year of grace 1914! Mr. Martin writes engagingly, but certain caustic criticisms will hardly make his work wholly acceptable to Roman Catholic readers.

Letters and Recollections of Alexander Agassiz. With a Sketch of His Life and Work. Edited by G. R. Agassiz. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $3.50.

The often-debated question of the comparative greatness of those two remarkable men of science, Louis Agassiz and his son Alexander, is interestingly and discriminatingly touched on in this readable biographical memoir and collection of letters. With justice the editor, who is Alexander Agassiz's son, points out that any comparison between the two would be unfair to both, since, apart from the fact that they labored in the same field of scientific inquiry,

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their achievements were quite dissimilar. "The essential difference between the two men may be suggested in the statement that one was temperamentally a great teacher and the other a great investigator." Another important difference, made very clear in the present volume, was the fact that the teacher, Louis, was so wrapped up in his science that, as he is reported to have said, "he had no time to waste in making money," whereas the investigator, Alexander, deliberately abandoned scientific pursuits to earn the money that would insure him leisure for renewed scientific effort. The story of Alexander Agassiz's share in the opening up of the world-known Calumet and Hecla mines constitutes, in fact, one of the most striking features in a book that is fascinating from beginning to end. Its main interest, however, centers, of course, in the letters descriptive of Agassiz's voyages of oceanic exploration with his son Max and his invaluable assistant, the brilliant W. McMichael Woodworth. To all interested in accounts of travel in the little-known quarters of the globe, as well as to all interested in the record of notable scientific achievement, we commend this excellent volume of "letters and recollections."

Courtship of Animals (The). By W. P. Pycraft. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.75.

A fascinating subject, even though the title, as the author admits, is good deal of a euphemism. The "courtship" of spiders and ants, and even of primitive man, is devoid of the romance usually attached to that word. But the peculiarities of color, structure, and behavior which accompany the breeding instinct are both curious and almost infinitely varied—and that there is also psychical emotion in the sexual instinct of the higher non-human animals is the author's contention. His chapters deal with primitive man, with "man's cousins the apes," and so on down, from the lion to the cuttlefish. Naturally the chapters on birds are especially interesting, but even the beetle and the grasshopper have their strange marriage customs. The book is beautifully illustrated with numerous photographs and drawings.

Buddhist Scriptures. A Selection Translated by E. J. Thomas, M.A. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 70c.

An interesting volume, this is also an instructive presentation of the essential tenets of philosophic Buddhism, far higher in character than its popular form. Its editors admit that Buddhism is in a sense atheistic, since its gods are impermanent, as well as the human soul. Yet it is also religious, if religion be regarded as essentially consisting in loyalty to a law transcendent to the will of man and the demands of visible things. The intent of this publication will be realized if it promotes a sympathetic attitude toward the wisdom of the East in its effort to fathom the mystery of human life and the purpose of its discipline in the evils of existence.

Divine Drama of Job (The). By Charles F. Aked, D.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 60c.

The series of expository studies which includes this small but valuable book is intended alike for laymen and clergymen. This is a volume from which no pastor, however accomplished in Bible lore, will fail to gain thought. The profit of Bible study, as Paul told the Romans (xv. 4), is in its application to ourselves and our time. On this is Dr. Aked intent throughout. The speeches of Job's friends still have their like among unbrotherly brethren, scolding preachers, bitter scribes, uncharitable theologians. Job is the prototype of the true man hardly dealt by because misunderstood.

In every age the battle of faith in a God for whom the deeps of the soul cry out against the theorists of the time has been fought by the apocalyptic "witnesses clothed in sackcloth." Its triumph-cry is heard in Job's repudiation of the doubts of God wrung out of him by agony (xlii. 6, R. V. margin). Dr. Aked regards this as the lesson intended by the poet, thus leaving the mystery of pain unsolved. The prologue and the epilogue are viewed as merely the "machinery" of the drama. The prologue, however, gives the text for an instructive sketch of "Satan in literature and life." Spiritual insight, clear and close thinking, and literary skill give value to this fresh and stimulating study of the drama pronounced by Carlyle and Froude the grandest in the world.

Book of Job (The). By Homer B. Sprague, Ph.D. Sherman, French & Co., New York. $1.25.

To the library of works, new and old, on this ancient world-poem Professor Sprague has made no superfluous addition. Its solution of the time-long problem of unmerited suffering he finds elsewhere than many place it. It is not given by the divine voice in the roar of the whirlwind that ends the long debate on the great mystery. That only silences Job with reproofs for his lack of understanding, and leaves the mystery unsolved. The problem, allegorically stated in the prologue of the poem, is allegorically solved in its epilogue. Suffering steadfastly endured by righteousness is disciplinary: it is the path to a more abundant life, through dark to light. Taught in crude emblems by this Semitic poet, the lesson is essentially one with the subsequent teaching of Christ—"*via crucis via lucis*."

Professor Sprague's metrical version of the poem aims to combine what is best in the Authorized and the Revised Versions with a more literal rendering of the Hebrew original. Job's mental agitation thus seems realistically exhibited in abrupt, disjointed, explosive speech. The explanatory notes are remarkably copious and instructive.

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THE READER'S VIEW

PUBLIC INSPECTION OF PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The public inspection of private secondary schools is a necessity made apparent within the past few years. The remarkable growth in the number of students enrolled in these schools, fifty-one per cent since 1909, is due primarily to two facts: the increasing number of those financially able to patronize them, and the growing recognition of the value of the co-ordinated home and school.

The private secondary school controls the home in which its students live during the session. The public secondary school does not have this advantage, and so has to deal with students whose homes do not co-operate. These homes may be divided into six classes: First, those in which the parents are so successfully busy that they give their children money instead of personal attention and friendship; second, those in which the parents lack early training themselves and desire for their children a better home than they can offer; third, those in which fathers and mothers are intelligently interested but differ so widely in their methods as to nullify each other; fourth, those in which there is a necessity to break the influence of undesirable companions in the neighborhood; fifth, those in which the parents are educational faddists who will not conform to the plans of the school; sixth, those in which father or mother or both are lacking. As long as we have such homes just so long shall we have a need for the boarding-school. Either we must have public boarding-schools or we must recognize the private boarding-school as a public necessity.

A glance at the private school advertisements in the summer issues of the weekly and monthly periodicals will convince one that there has been great growth in the number of these advertisements. A study of the catalogues and other advertising matter sent out by these schools shows that, with a great many, the emphasis has changed from a statement of accomplished facts to one of exaggerated claims. It is a matter of common report that some schools are kept alive by victimizing each year a new set of students who are drawn by unwarranted advertising matter.

The most potent influence in the downfall of practically every nation since history began has been that of the children of the rich and the well-to-do. The most difficult task in American education is to make good citizens out of these boys and girls. The private school is enrolling an increasing percentage of them. The influence of the unworthy schools is far-reaching and is a public menace. If there are none such, the statement to that effect, made by the public inspector, will remove an obstruction in the way of one of the agencies for the betterment of citizenship. If there are such, the publication of the inspectors' report will be sufficient to protect the public.

The manufacturer of food products must manufacture pure foodstuff and must tell the truth about what he has made. The management of a school may supply impure education and may say what it pleases about what is being done. The Government concerns itself with the former. Why not with the latter? Is it not as important to have pure education as it is to have pure food?

The private boarding-school is doing an inter-State business, an international business. For this reason Federal inspection is as desirable in the case of schools as it is in the case of any other inter-State business. There will be no necessity for compulsory inspection. No school can afford to fail cordially to invite inspection. To fail to do so would hopelessly handicap it in its effort to interest patrons. The penalty for the failure to measure up to reasonable standards, such as may be determined by the Federal Bureau of Education, will be the inability of the school to enroll students.

WILLIAM HOLMES DAVIS.
The Danville School,
Danville, Virginia.

THE COLLEGE MAN IN BUSINESS

This city of fifty thousand population may or may not be typical of cities of its rank in the Middle West. Of this I am not particularly well qualified to judge, having lived here all of my forty years except two years spent on the Pacific coast. Let your readers be the judges after I merely state the facts. I would be glad to hear whether the conditions mentioned below are typical or peculiar to this city only.

It is a strictly manufacturing city, evolved from one of the most important lumber camps of Michigan's logging days. While art and culture are not unknown here, the spirit of the community is almost wholly commercial. In this respect, I doubt not, it ranks with the majority of American cities.

The prominent successes here are not those of college men. This seems to be proved by the analysis below. The older generation are not college men, and their sons, with few exceptions, if they have had the advantage of a college education, have either gone elsewhere, where the field of technical endeavor has been larger, or else they have attained, so far, a measure of success that is not conspicuously greater than that of their less favored friends.

I take the Board of Trade year-book for analysis. It has a total membership of eight hundred and eighty-four, and includes a very large percentage of the business and profes-

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sional men of the city. It is a thriving organization.

Of the eight hundred and eighty-four names not over sixty-six will be found to be college men. Of the sixty-six, fifty-three are lawyers, doctors, and clergymen, and in these professions it will not be denied that a college education is a *sine qua non*.

Let us look at the fifty-three professional men. How many will pay an income tax? I am fairly certain that not over thirty have an income of $2,000 per year or better. About a dozen are physicians of good practice, and are, without doubt, successful. Less than a dozen will be classed as successful lawyers.

Of the thirteen names not in the learned professions, seven are wealthy men or sons of wealthy men for whom the college training has been a means of culture. But it is not readily apparent that their success is due to the said training, neither is it certain that more than three or four of these men would be termed successful in a commercial sense.

As I am not arguing against the college training, I would like to have time to try to prove the value of the same by its apparent effect in the cases of two or three almost brilliant successes here which are those of college men, notably that of our new Mayor, a young college man of independent fortune, just elected to head our experiment in commission form of city government.

Saginaw, Michigan. J.

RACE SUICIDE: A MISFIT ARGUMENT

I have read with interest Colonel Roosevelt's article on "Twisted Eugenics" in The Outlook of January 3. I have a great admiration for the contributing editor of The Outlook, and for a long time I have been able and willing to follow him along the many trails that he has either newly blazed or made it easier to walk in. But I don't agree with him in all his ways of thinking on the subject of "race suicide." It is all very well for Colonel Roosevelt to plead eloquently for large families, because he is so fortunately situated financially as to be able to care for and properly bring up a whole regiment of children. From lack of actual personal experience with the harassing problems of poverty or an inadequate income, Colonel Roosevelt is utterly unable to get the view of this question as it looks to one who has to spend a large part of his physical, mental, and spiritual energy in trying to solve those problems.

Even the most superhuman efforts of the greatest conceivable genius cannot—beyond a certain point—enable a man to sympathize with or understand fully another man who is facing an altogether different set of conditions. Dives can never understand the feelings of Lazarus, even if Dives were to go and sit beside Lazarus at the doorway, wear similar rags, and have the same kind of sores licked by the same dog. In other words, one cannot sympathize outside his own class; we may think that we can, but it is not so. The rich man never can fully appreciate the deepest distress of the poor man, and that "deepest distress" is not any actual physical suffering, but the carking, gnawing, biting, unceasing apprehension of the worst that may come. There is a certain ultimate, first-hand knowledge of everything that can be got in absolutely no other way than by personal experience. As far as I know, Colonel Roosevelt has had no experience that would enable him to understand the position of a man whose livelihood and that of his family are absolutely dependent upon an income of, say, $1,200 per year, while facing actual needs of $2,000 at least, with the added consolation of knowing, should his ability to earn this $1,200 fail, that his wife and helpless children would be deprived of every means of support.

When men and women are in this position, they only smile bitterly at the preaching and the theories and the statistics of those who stand quaking before the fearful specter of a perishing race, or the awful calamity of New England coming to be inhabited by the "descendants of the immigrants of yesterday or to-day"! You can't scare men who are barely able to care properly for two children into having a family as big as Solomon's by any such dim and distant catastrophe as having no great-great-great-great, etc., grandchildren to see that their graves are kept green, any more than one would be frightened into letting the furnace go out in midwinter because Mr. Pinchot tells us that in about a thousand years or so there will be no coal.

Conditions and circumstances are going to take care of and adjust this matter of race suicide and lowering birth rates in the natural way that such things have been taken care of and adjusted since the human race first made its appearance. The same God who commanded man to increase and multiply and replenish the earth has at times, when there seemed too much of an increase, allowed millions of lives to be wiped out by earthquakes, by floods, by pestilence, by famine, and by war. Improvement in sanitary conditions, better ways of living due to scientific research and greater intelligence, Christian missionary enterprise, and philanthropy—all have contributed to the decrease of the dreadful calamities of former times, and have made a greater number of human beings fit to survive; but now we are facing the problem of how to keep them alive and properly fed and clothed after they have been enabled to take their places in the ranks of the "fittest." A concrete illustration is found in the case of India, where, since British civilization and Christianity have kept millions of the natives from perishing from floods and disease, the difficulty now is, owing to the increase of

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the population, how to keep them from dying of starvation. I am frank to say, and am perfectly willing to stand all the consequences of the saying, that I cannot quite see how it is any more awful or reprehensible for men to refuse to allow children that cannot be properly cared for to be brought into the world than it is for the Creator of mankind to allow his creatures to be removed from the world in ways that often cause terrible suffering.

I believe that what is termed "race suicide" is in large measure an illustration of the indubitable proof that the "law of compensation always obtains." It is a symptom, not a cause; a symptom of the increasing difficulty of making the average income meet the "outgo;" a symptom of an economic condition that is making the people of whom Colonel Roosevelt speaks (the "ordinary every-day Americans, the decent men and women who do make good fathers and mothers, and who ought to have good-sized families")—that is making these very people use their good common sense and decency and judgment—that is, indeed, often causing them to use great self-denial and self-restraint—in declining to "fulfill" what Colonel Roosevelt terms the "primary law of their being."

The "shiftless people, unfit to marry, who have huge families" are on the Colonel's side in this matter; but the "ordinary every-day Americans, the decent men and women who do make good fathers and mothers, who ought to have good-sized families," but for good reasons don't have such families—these are against Colonel Roosevelt in their practice, even though they may go ever so far with him in theory. There seems little use in wasting ink and energy over symptoms, and the lowering birth rate is but a symptom. Don't blame the mercury when it goes down; bring the thermometer inside, or change the weather. There are circumstances and conditions that may make "race suicide" in reality and in the highest sense race preservation, if quality and not quantity be that which counts. WILLIAM H. WATTS.

[The trouble with the Rev. Mr. Watts's argument is that it is not the poor but the well-to-do and the rich who are committing race suicide.—THE EDITORS.]

ONE VIEW OF THE ISSUE IN ULSTER

We who love Ireland have been amused by various articles from anti-home-rulers who declare they are going to give "the naked issue in Ulster." Such an article by Edward G. Mackay appeared in a recent issue of The Outlook. Even the most superficial glance through that article is sufficient to see that the writer, far from giving the naked issue, is really cloaking it. The plain fact of the matter, as I see it, is that the Ulsterman doesn't give a tinker's dam about the rest of Ireland. The harp of Tara can remain mute for all time without a pang of regret from the Ulsterman. He is an alien dwelling on the loveliest island on the globe, but feeling no pride in it. Literally, he is a man without a country.

This is the real issue. We want to give everybody who has the privilege of living in Ireland a pride in his tight little island. We want it to be a United Ireland where all the people shall work hand in hand for its welfare; where religious differences shall not be the cause of drunken riots on the 12th of July and the 17th of March, but rather the inspiration to a holy competition for the salvation of men.

My father was an Orangeman, and I can well remember in my boyhood days how he proudly wore his sash and thumped a drum till his knuckles ran red with blood. "Loyalty," he called it; and "loyalty" we called it, too, when we fastened an arch across the street and sang that beautiful Christian song, "We'll tighten up the rope and we'll make him curse the Pope." Doubtless the Catholic children had somewhat similar feelings towards us Protestants. We who advocate an All-Ireland state government are confident that this ghastly hatred will be done away with when Catholic and Protestant put their heads together and, instead of pummeling one another, amicably deliberate concerning the welfare of our beloved country.

So long as Ulster feels itself alien, so long will riots and hatred have their place. We are going to end this, and, ending it, give to the Ulsterman a country, so that no longer shall he call himself an Ulsterman, as one should say a North Dakotan or a Pennsylvanian, but proudly style himself an Irishman, as I subscribe myself,

AN AMERICAN.

A CORRECTION

In the report of the Lake Mohonk Conference last fall it was stated that Mr. James C. de Veyra, recently appointed as a Filipino member of the Philippine Commission, was an *ilustrado* who owned nearly all of the island of Leyte, and who was elected by people who were his dependents. A correspondent has called this statement in question, and, after inquiry, we are convinced that it was an error. Mr. de Veyra is said not to be known either as a wealthy man, a manufacturer, or a great landowner.

We make this correction in the interest of accuracy. Of course there is nothing discreditable to Mr. de Veyra in either statement.

"BURNHAM," NOT "BRIGHAM"

In an article entitled "A Government Sky-Scraper," which appeared in the January 24 issue of The Outlook, the name of the architect who designed the Boston Custom-House was given as "Ammi Brigham Young." This should have read Ammi Burnham Young.

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MANY INVENTIONS

THE ADVANCE OF THE WIRELESS

Some absurd stories have been put out about wireless waves, such as the assertion that great danger exists where the wireless waves meet and that the Volturno disaster was caused this way—an assertion ridiculed by Marconi and other experts. But, absurdities apart, it is extremely likely that the wireless is only half developed. The Outlook lately summarized an article about the extraordinary work of Mr. John Hays Hammond, Jr., in steering a boat entirely by wireless. Equally interesting was the recent cabled report that Marconi has succeeded in lighting an electric lamp by electricity through the agency of wireless at a distance of six miles. A bulb was attached to a receiver connected with an aerial receiving wire. The transmitter was linked up with a 100 horse-power apparatus, and as soon as the power was applied the lamp lighted and remained lighted so long as the power was kept on.

"The experiment," says the New York "Sun," brings a step nearer realization Nikola Tesla's prediction of long ago that houses would eventually be illuminated by electricity caught from the air by masts on the roofs, and Signor Marconi hopes that it will be the forerunner not only of lighting but of heating houses by etheric waves. At present, however, Signor Marconi is giving his main attention to aerophony. He says: 'I am now aiming particularly to obtain a distinctly audible message. This is really more valuable than spectacular calls for long distances. I have been able to communicate quite easily and clearly for a hundred miles, using the ordinary receivers and apparatus, which are very like the ones usually used on telephones. The difficulty is with the transmitter, which is very heavy and needs two men to carry it.'" Later accounts from Italy report further and most satisfactory experiments in wireless telephoning by Marconi with a newly invented microphone and a dictaphone arrangement for making the human voice clear in the wireless transmission.

EMERGENCY BRAKES

A paper was lately read before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers by Mr. S. W. Dudley, in which he described a new air-brake apparatus, designed to meet the requirements of the greatly increased weights and speeds of trains in recent years. It may be operated with either pneumatic or electric control. The result is obtained, Mr. Dudley explained, by quicker application of the brakes and by a higher pressure, which may be held until the end of the stop. The higher pressure is obtained chiefly by an improved rigging under the cars and on the trucks, and by a clasp brake having two shoes on each wheel.

The layman will be more interested in the result than in the technique. The system has been tested on the Pennsylvania road. It was found possible with the new device to stop a train of twelve steel passenger cars and a locomotive, all weighing nearly 1,000 tons, within 1,000 feet, or the length of the train, when running at a speed of sixty miles an hour. The momentum of such a train running at that speed is equivalent to that of a ton weight falling from a height of twenty-one miles. The energy developed corresponds to that of a blast of dynamite sufficient to blow the same train 120 feet into the air. With an emergency application of the high-speed brakes in general use the same train could be stopped in a distance of 1,600 or 1,800 feet.

ELECTRIC LIGHT STATIONS IN LARGE CITIES

In an editorial in the "Electrical World" some startling contrasts between the electricity supply systems of London, Berlin, and Chicago are brought out. In Chicago under a singularly progressive arrangement there is a wonderfully well-organized system of unified supply. London, on the other hand, is an example of complete disorganization in spite of some remarkably well-managed local undertakings. Berlin has an orderly supply, although its territory is less completely controlled than in the case of Chicago.

The first striking fact is the very inefficient way in which the electric light business has been exploited in London, which, with three times the population of Chicago, uses less than twenty-five per cent more energy. Its sixty-four stations show fifty per cent greater first cost than the six plants that supply service to the Western metropolis, more than double the operating cost, and ten per cent less efficiency in the distribution system. Moreover, the London wage cost is sixty per cent higher than that at Chicago, and the fuel cost more than double. Berlin also shows an efficiency of distribution hardly better than that of London.

PICTURES OF A FLYING BULLET

An apparatus capable of making film pictures at the rate of 100,000 a second has been invented, and with it some remarkable pictures have been made. In one case seventy-two consecutive views of a bullet fired from a revolver were taken while the bullet was passing through a space of ten inches. This bullet was fired through a thin piece of wood, and the film showed a curious situation. The wood did not

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show any effect from the impact of the bullet until the bullet had passed completely through it. Then splinters began to form, the stick split, and finally fell to pieces. No camera shutters can be used with this apparatus. A series of electric sparks are flashed at the rate of 100,000 a second and a picture is made with each flash. The film is carried on a wheel three feet in diameter that makes 9,000 revolutions a minute. —*Popular Mechanics Magazine.*

A CLASS-DAY MOVIE

So far as we know, the only moving-picture play made and presented as a class play by a high school graduating class was that shown by the Springfield (Illinois) High School last summer. Says the "Technical World Magazine:" "The photo-play was written, directed, and managed by Ben W. Lawless, a member of the class, and the cast was composed entirely of high school students. The plot had the usual kidnapping scene and love affair, and was original in that it used the annual Corn Belt Athletic Meet, in which eleven Central Illinois towns take part each year at the State Fair Grounds. The races and athletic events made the film intensely interesting, and the plot of the drama would have done credit to older heads. The reel was shown in several towns of the Corn Belt League, and has created a good deal of interest throughout the country among teachers and principals."

MOTION PICTURES FOR INSTRUCTING RAILWAY MEN

A Pacific Coast railway company is using motion pictures very successfully in connection with the instruction of its trainmen. For the most part regular employees of the company have been used as actors, as it was found easier to make actors out of railway men than railway men out of professional actors.

In carrying out the original idea one crew was used to depict the careless, incompetent, and negligent observation of the rules, while another crew was exhibited in the pictures as alert, competent, and vigilant in its work. To complete the lesson the incompetent crew is shown carelessly attired, with caps on one side, collars turned up, etc., while the second crew is neat in dress and erect in bearing.

To show all the pictures requires two hours.—*Electric Railway Journal.*

TO SUPPLANT THE TOWEL?

The electric hand-dryer is the last word in sanitary devices for public buildings. The "Technical World Magazine" says that it promises to relegate the paper towel to the junk heap the roller towel now occupies. "The machine is the invention of J. M. Ward, superintendent of the Municipal Building, Washington. One has just been installed, and it has proved such a success that a score of others are being manufactured. They will be placed throughout the building. The electric hand-dryer is contained in a large box. There is an opening at the top over which wet hands are held. By pushing down a foot lever the machine is put in operation and a strong current of warm air comes through the opening. The air is driven through the opening by a powerful electric blower, first passing over two miniature electric furnaces which warm it to a temperature which does not chill the hands."

MINING DIAMONDS BY MODERN METHODS

Machinery and barbed wire have supplanted the crude methods of breaking up diamond-bearing blue earth and protecting the valuable finds employed twenty years ago in the South African diamond mines, says the "Popular Mechanics Magazine." The depths of the strange crater-shaped hole in which the peculiar diamond-bearing earth is confined are now penetrated by shafts, reaching hundreds of feet down into the earth, with forty-foot levels. The broken earth is removed in closed trucks to the surface, where, after a season of exposure to sun and atmosphere, strewn on the ground, it is hauled to the mills. Here pulsators finally locate the diamonds on grease-covered inclined tables, to which the diamonds adhere, while loose sand, earth, and gravel are washed away by water. Acres of ground, covered by broken earth brought up from the mines, contain possibly millions of dollars' worth of gems, and these treasure-troves are protected by high fences of barbed wire, with intricate arrangements at the corners and at the gates. About four thousand miles of wire are used in the defenses about the Kimberley mines.

TWENTY YEARS TO FILL A MUD HOLE

A mud hole on one of our public roads had been filled and refilled for more than twenty years, writes a Kansas county engineer. One hour's work setting level and grade stakes, and less than one day's work with a team and scraper opening an outlet ditch, have eliminated the trouble. Year after year they have temporarily mended the same faults in the road and have failed to see that the ultimate expenditure would have more than paid for one permanent piece of construction work.

The township trustees formerly made no attempt to keep cost data. Now they are more capable of estimating the value of different classes of work, since they are required to give annual reports to the county engineer showing the expenditure of all moneys for road and bridge work, giving the per cent used in dragging, grading, concrete, stone work, and wooden bridges.—*Engineering News.*

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BY THE WAY

The French, having taken up boxing and on at least one notable occasion beaten the British in their specialty of the "manly art," are now taking up baseball with the intention of beating the Americans at their own game. The American president of a French baseball club is quoted as saying that he believes that France will soon have one of the crack ball teams of the world.

A March gale—a "whole gale" it must have been—carried away the wings of the big bronze eagle that does duty as a figurehead on the great ship Imperator, of the Hamburg-American Line. As this eagle is seventy-five feet above the water, the damage to it gives one a new idea of the height and force of the Atlantic's waves when backed by a fierce storm.

The Pennsylvania Railroad last year paid out $5,143 on account of accidents to passengers who tripped over other passengers' grips placed in the aisles of passenger trains. That is one of the reasons why its trainmen are instructed not to permit luggage to remain in the aisles of passenger coaches.

The growing public interest in "Better Industrial Relations" is significantly indicated by the announcement that a public exhibit bearing that title will be held under the auspices of the Society for Ethical Culture at 2 West Sixty-fourth Street, New York City, during the week of April 18–25. The exhibit will show by charts, tabulated statements, models, photographs, and other graphic devices what is now being done by American employers and employees to promote arbitration, conciliation, profit-sharing, the amelioration of working conditions, sanitation, good housing, co-operative schools and stores, savings and loan associations, pensions and accident compensation. If this exhibit meets with public approval, it ought to be circulated in some way through the country.

"Editor Leaves a Million" is a newspaper headline that was apparently written with the thought that it would command attention by reason of the novelty of the fact; another headline of obituary interest is, "Wills Masses for 100 Years," which prefaces the statement that a Long Island priest leaves money to a church in Wurttemberg, Germany, for singing a high requiem mass annually for a hundred years for the repose of his soul. The editor, with larger resources or perhaps a greater confidence in his future, "remembered practically every charity in Buffalo."

"A Survival of Matriarchy" is described in "Harper's Magazine" as existing among the Menangkabau, a Sumatran tribe. The peculiar custom prevails of the bride buying her husband. "For an ordinary man the sum paid rarely exceeds eighty dollars, but two hundred and fifty dollars is gladly paid for a head man." Nearly all the land is still owned by the women. As a penalty, however, for this privilege, the women are expected to cultivate their land, while the men are "free from the daily duties imposed by family support."

"Murderer of Seven on Trial" is a startling statement that at first gives one a despondent feeling that America has a monopoly of crime—but an involuntary glance down the column shows that the deed was committed in France. Whether in France or America, cannot our friends of the daily press do something to mitigate the horror of these too frequent accounts? Here is a suggestion: Let each story of crime be followed by a "good deeds" story in the same column. The psychological effect of this juxtaposition on impressionable minds would be distinctly helpful.

The Legal Aid Society of New York City, which is said to do the largest business of any law office in the world, handled 39,189 cases in 1913. The average cost of these cases to its clients was only one dollar and nineteen cents.

The "Beacon Light," which is a report of the work of the Lighthouse Literature Mission of Belfast, Ireland, contains letters from various parts of the world telling of the life of the lightkeepers. The keepers are mostly practical men, but they are fond of reading. One letter says: "I have received diplomas that authorize me in practicing mechano-therapy and suggestive therapeutics. . . . I am also an Esperantist, having learnt the language while on the lighthouse establishment."

The pen used by Speaker Clark and Vice-President Marshall to sign the Alaska Bill was made from gold mined in Alaska, and the holder was made from the tusk of a mastodon which is believed to have roamed through the Territory fifty thousand years ago. The penholder was carved by a native Alaskan Indian, and represents a totem.

Aladdin may have been the first collector to prize old lamps, but he was not the last. At a recent sale of old lamps in New York City the lamp used by Mrs. Stowe in writing "Uncle Tom's Cabin" sold for $71; a pair of sperm oil lamps, a wedding present to John Hancock, brought $66; and a tin lamp used by Abraham Lincoln in his law office in Springfield, Illinois, in 1837, sold for $160.

South Dakota claims the world's record for concentrated sweetness. This is in the form of a variety of sugar beet which the agricultural experts of that State believe will yield a quarter of its weight in saccharine matter. The average sugar content of sugar beets is less than 16 per cent.

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